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Continuing The Historical Outlook

APRIL, 1950

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Contents

The Origins of Socialism	William A. Russ, Jr.	147
The Teacher of History in Public Schools	Wilfred Black	155
Problems-and-Interpretations Approaches to College History	Jennings B. Sanders	159
The American Revolution and Imperial Policy	Carl B. Cone	161
Topic T6. English Colonies: Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas	Morris Wolf	167
A Unit Course Outline in American History	H. M. Boodish	171
The Teachers' Page	H. M. Boodish	179
Visual and Other Aids	R. T. Solis-Cohen	180
News and Comment	Leonard B. Irwin	182
Book Reviews and Book Notes	David W. Harr	186
Current Publications Received		192

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The Social Studies

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APRIL, 1950

The Origins of Socialism

WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR.

Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania

I

In this essay I propose to offer to social studies teachers a few thoughts which, I hope, may help to clarify for them in some degree the cloud of confusion which surrounds the terms, socialism and communism. Additionally, I should like to suggest a pattern which may be of service in answering questions like the following which social studies teachers are asked almost every day: What is socialism and when if ever does it come to a society? Is its advent predictable? Is the United States going socialistic? How does communism differ from socialism, if at all? Is socialism democratic or totalitarian?

Let us begin by admitting that we Americans tend to take alarm at words, especially at "devil" words, even though they may be mere labels without reality behind them. American thinking is in a foggy state when it is possible for a man of the calibre of Congressman Clarence J. Brown of Ohio, in defining socialism, to link varied isms together as follows: "Whether it is socialism, communism, fascism, nazism, or whatever it may be, it is where the State becomes all powerful and the individual no longer counts."

Do these controversial terms have any content or are they just epithets thrown around to make American businessmen uneasy? That few people really know the difference between them indicates a dangerous state of public opinion, for the first step in fighting an enemy is to be able to recognize him for what he is. Therefore we must first define terms.

Of all the "scare" words that are bothering Americans, communism worries them most. What, therefore, is communism, granting that

it is anything? In its primary sense, for instance as used in the New Testament (Acts, II: 45 and IV: 32, 34 ff.), the word means that all early Christian converts turned their property in to a common fund. After that, in as much as no member retained any private property, each received what he needed from the general store. That also was and still is the meaning of communism as applied to monasticism. Likewise in the many experiments that were tried in America—for example, the Oneida community in New York, the Rappite establishments in Indiana and in Pennsylvania—property was held in common.

On the other hand, as Karl Marx uses (or misuses) the word, communism is that stage of society which follows dictatorial socialism. The latter (also called dictatorship of the proletariat) prepares the way until that "happy day" when communism is possible. Under communism, the state withers away into a classless society in which man lives in harmony with his fellows. Such a concept is of course absurd so far as the everyday facts of life are concerned. Unless Marx was talking about the heavenly millennium—and he was not—his idea is childish.

Is so-called Russian communism like that of the early Christians? No. It is quite different, for in the Soviet Union no property (with the possible exception of the *kolkhozi*) is held in common; in fact small amounts of private property are permitted. Is so-called Russian communism anything like what Marx predicts it will be, namely, a classless society without any state but with plenty of harmony and bliss? Hardly. There is too much state and too little

bliss in the Soviet Union. Even Stalin seems to have comprehended the ridiculousness of calling his government communistic in the Marxian sense, for in 1947 he said that the state would continue to exist even under communism unless capitalistic encirclement were eliminated. Confronting such a maze of inconsistencies, one is justified in asking whether the Russians know *what* they are. Of course, they would answer that it does not matter. What does matter in Bolshevik theory is power, not consistency.

We come now to socialism, which also has frightened American businessmen. Briefly and baldly defined, socialism is state capitalism. That is to say, the government owns and operates what is normally a private service or industry. The process whereby government takes over such an industry or service is called socialization or nationalization. Under socialist theory some private property may exist. Indeed, British and American socialists declare that they are interested in the nationalization only of the large industries and services. Unlike communism, property is not held in common; instead, the state becomes the owner and employer, just as previously the private enterpriser was the owner and employer. Wages are paid as usual and they differ as ability and industriousness differ within the labor force. Profits go to the government rather than to the private owner. And so on. Thus, socialism is a kind of capitalism, whereas historical communism is not capitalism at all.

Socialism is ordinarily found in conjunction with other ideas. For instance, socialism can be democratic, as in England or—even in Pennsylvania. If socialism comes into being by majority vote of the people, and if it can be abolished by democratic means, then there is no conflict between socialism and democracy. We must get that fact clearly in mind, for, without understanding it, Americans can hardly expect to win the cold war.

On the other hand, socialism can be dictatorial and undemocratic, as it is in the Union of Soviet *Socialist* Republics. In point of fact, the soviet system is socialistic rather than communistic. Russian socialism is the totalitarian brand and was imposed without popular consent, just as Britain's form is the democratic

kind and is being established by the will of the majority.

Perhaps it is time to stop and to make the point clear that our enemy is neither socialism nor communism as such. It is the police state, *i.e.*, totalitarianism, or dictatorship, whether that be applied to socialism, to republicanism, to monarchy, to fascism, or to "democracy" as the Bolsheviks deliberately misuse that word. And so we oppose Russian socialism because it militates against the sanctity of individual rights; we dislike fascism because it militates against the sanctity of individual rights; and we fought nazism because it militated against the sanctity of individual rights. On the other hand, we do not need to fear British socialism because it is democratic, it is subject to popular control, and it preserves human rights. We are against the police state whether it be in Russia, Germany, Spain, Georgia, Louisiana, or anywhere else. We must keep our eye on the ball, and the ball is the police state, particularly if it tries to impose its will on others either by infiltration or by direct conquest.

II

Under what circumstances does a nation, a city, a borough, or any unit of government choose public ownership? Socialism is likely to occur when one of the following situations applies: (1) A state of poverty and depression exists without much, if any, hope of improvement, in this case socialism will probably be permanent, or at best, longstanding. (2) Poverty and distress obtain, but there is promise of amelioration because of potential riches and wealth; socialism here is likely to be temporary. (3) Private enterprise cannot do a job at all, or does it poorly, or is too expensive; this category may be designated as "fringe" socialism, which produces what is usually called a "mixed economy."

III

Let us turn to the first condition of affairs, namely, a status of longstanding poverty and economic decline. In this example socialism is used as a means of rationing and preserving, for the welfare of all, the little wealth that remains. It may be resorted to after a period of reckless waste and prosperity, or it may arise because poverty has always obtained. Under such a state of affairs, there is little if

any opportunity for the winning of independent fortunes. Not enough surplus wealth is available to permit the luxury of waste. The glorious feeling that a nation can be free and easy with its natural resources without the necessity of pennypinching is one of the characteristics of free enterprise. So long as wealth is plentiful and resources seem to be endless, private initiative will continue and therefore socialism seems unnecessary.

A pertinent example is the way in which our ancestors ruthlessly slashed the virgin forests of the country, with the result that the present generation is faced with a serious lumber shortage; in fact the scarcity is one of the causes of the high cost of housing. In 1860, Pennsylvania was the country's leader in production of lumber, and Williamsport became the center of the timber industry. Lumber companies so depleted the forests in central Pennsylvania that today one can drive for many miles through cut-over lands, gutted hillsides, and waste areas, where magnificent evergreens formerly grew. Virgin timber is now so scarce that the state of Pennsylvania has preserved a few areas in several parks so that modern people might see what the original forest looked like! Our forefathers thought there would be no end to the amount of available timber; and so, with the exhilaration that private enterprise loves and glories in, they soon made Pennsylvania into something considerably less than Penn's Woods, and almost brought about the end of the community of Williamsport when the lumber mills ceased operations. That industry moved to Michigan and to the South, forthwith denuding those sections too. Then, after exploiting Wisconsin, the timber business leaped to the Pacific Northwest, where at present the last important timber resources in the forty-eight states are located.

After private ruthlessness had its day, the American people were forced to employ means of preserving what timber resources were left and of starting new forests. Hence the states and the federal government began to buy up forest preserves and to plant young trees. Such actions were of course socialistic, but they were essential if lumber was to be available for future generations. Whereas, formerly, the United States was rich in timber resources,

it had become rather poor; and the rule is that socialism arises when poverty exists.

Another interesting example can be found right next door to us in Saskatchewan, Canada. Apparently few Americans know that that Canadian province has had a socialist (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation) government for some years. Perhaps the people of the province may some time tire of the CCF experiment and elect a government dedicated to private initiative—as New Zealand and Australia recently did—but it is hard to see how free enterprise in its fullness could continue very long in Saskatchewan. If you go there and plow through the dust and mud of the roads, as I recently did, you can easily understand why the people are attempting to keep their heads above water (and mud) by socialization. The province is pitifully poor, without visible wealth or resources other than fertility of the soil. This means that its income must derive almost totally from wheat, which is not enough. No people ever became permanently prosperous from the extractive industry of farming alone. The province lacks oil (at least so far as is known; exploration is going on), coal, and iron—all the items which produce greatness and prosperity in this modern industrial age; all the raw materials which, when processed, make life easy; all the resources which are the life blood of free enterprise. And so the provincial government has gone into production of consumer goods like woollens and shoes and of industrial goods like sodium sulphate, bricks, leather, and boxes; into the processing and marketing of timber, fish, and furs; into utilities like the telephone buses, power, and airways; and into services like housing, seed cleaning, insurance, health, and books. The rule applies again: Saskatchewanian socialism is attributable to poverty, a poverty which the people feel must be shared and shared equally. There is so little excess wealth that it would be foolish—so they believe—to permit the conspicuous waste and careless luxury which are the concomitants of private enterprise at its best.

Great Britain has likewise been attempting to establish a socialist economy.¹ Its reason is perfectly natural and understandable. If Britain were not trying socialism, one would be forced to explain why it was not doing so. The country

is poor; it has lost its former economic position as the banker and shopkeeper of the world; it is losing the empire; two world wars divested the British of their overseas investments and of much of their home capital as well; bombing destroyed countless millions of dollars' worth of homes, buildings and factories. No longer is there a comfortable surplus of wealth to go around; and no longer can it be said that if some few individuals become rich, it does not matter because there is enough for everybody and nobody need suffer. Now everybody, former rich and poor alike, must share in the common misery. As in Saskatchewan, the little that remains must be preserved, shared carefully, and made to last as long as possible. Norman Thomas, who should know what socialism is, says in reference to the English experiment: "Great Britain turned Socialist after her coal mines under private ownership had been recklessly depleted and the machinery was obsolescent. Great Britain turned Socialist and provided the best system that could be seen in an emergency for taking care of people so that goods in short supply could be shared and those who needed them could get it." In other words, socialism was established as a last resort to equalize the poverty of all, thereby preventing a dissolution into totalitarianism. Or, as Norman Thomas puts it: "Men saw some other hope than the totalitarian state."

The same pattern holds in a lesser or greater degree wherever poverty is in power: France, Italy, India, Mexico, South America, China, in fact almost everywhere in the world except in the United States. Perhaps the most recent example is the *kibbutz* or collective farm in Israel, one of the world's newest states. In Israel the problem of poverty is so serious that the leaders of the independent government saw no possibility of meeting it other than by socialistic methods.

Do the American people understand the simple fact that Europe is in a state of economic decline and that therefore private capitalism cannot be restored, at least not completely, and not immediately? Apparently not. Both Howard K. Smith in his book, *The State of Europe* (1949), and Raymond Swing in his lectures point out that we are in danger of losing the cold war because so many Americans act on

the assumption that private capitalism can be revived in Western Europe. On the contrary, how can any sensible person expect private enterprise to be re-established fully in Germany, where poverty has been commonplace much of the time since 1918? Or, for that matter, in France or in Italy? Nevertheless the United States government is endeavoring to overturn socialized industries in Germany, and in doing so is returning cartels to private control and placing former Nazis back into economic power. Can anything be more ridiculous?

What the American people need to see is that socialism is likely to arise in a declining, or poverty, economy. Why fight this fact? Why pour Marshall dollars into Europe to buttress a dead or dying system? When are we going to learn that our best friends in Europe are those who are trying to establish social democracy? If the United States fails to revive private capitalism, totalitarianism will take the place of democratic socialism; only then will Americans appreciate the measure of their mistake.

We must remember that our enemy is totalitarianism and that social democracy is infinitely preferable to totalitarianism. If the United States succeeds in overturning democratic socialism in Western Europe, Americans will be hurting themselves as much or more than they will be hurting Europeans. The only way to win the cold war so that we can later win the hot one (if it occurs) is to make allies of the people of Western Europe. That area being of necessity largely socialist, we are not going to make friends by attempting to impose private capitalism where it is out of date. Above all, if we were clever we would cease harping at socialist England.

IV

We come now to the second situation which is likely to produce socialism, namely, that in which there is potential wealth but in which poverty obtains at the start. Socialized action is employed (sometimes unconsciously) only until a better existence under private capitalism becomes possible. Examples of this sort of endeavor are numerous, especially in early American history.

Some of the first English colonies were forced to practice common ownership during the critical days of settlement. At Jamestown, it was a

necessary step; even at that, the Virginia pioneers almost perished. Once the community was planted, common ownership became a disadvantage and private ownership followed quickly. The same fact applies to early Plymouth. Bradford in his history shows that common ownership was used during the "starving time"; otherwise the colony might have foundered. In fact, under such conditions there is as little justification for private enterprise as there is for complete socialism in an economy of abundance.

Most of the so-called communistic experiments in American history were undertaken without private property, not only because common ownership was a part of the founders' beliefs, but also because the groups were so poor that the members had to scrape, save, and share alike in order later to achieve a decent standard of living. Once wealth began to be created in sizable quantities, communistic experiments either broke up, or else the colonies became ordinary private enterprises. Thus communism at first saved the Rappites at Harmony, New Harmony, and Economy, but it helped to defeat the purpose of the experiment as soon as wealth accumulated. Oneida became a joint-stock cooperative, giving up its communism.

Many examples of public ownership of banks and internal improvements can be found in the early history of the republic. The amount of socialism in the pre-Civil War period was considerable. Our ancestors had less fear of government action than we have, and they turned to socialistic procedure whenever they felt the need. (Consult Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought, 1776-1860*, Harvard University Press, 1948.) There was of course a good reason. So little surplus private wealth and excess capital existed at the time that canals, railroads, and banks could not have been established unless governments financed them. The two United States Banks were partly owned by the federal government and to that extent were socialistic. Practically all the large canals were government enterprises. Many of them were failures, in part because of the coming of railroads. On the other hand, had the state governments not undertaken the task, most of the internal improvements could not

have been constructed at all. A case in point was the State Works of Pennsylvania between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; and even its *private* successor, the Pennsylvania Railroad, was heavily supported financially by the city governments of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Many of the early railroads and toll highways were built in part with public capital. By about 1850, however, more private capital was becoming available, and so public aid was less essential. Yet, even in the heyday of private initiative, transcontinental railroads were aided by land grants and loans from the United States government.

Perhaps Russia may ultimately turn out to be the most illuminating instance of the principle that socialism is employed for the purpose of later making private wealth available. The Bolsheviks are using socialistic schemes like the numerous Five Year Plans under the promise that such means will finally make possible the good life, with widespread prosperity, plenty of consumers' goods, and evenly distributed opportunities. Actually, if the soviet regime ever succeeds by socialistic action in creating enough wealth to make life easy and abundant, it is more probable that the people will turn to private capitalism than that they will continue willingly under the rigors of totalitarian discipline. For who wants to live by the strict regulations of a completely socialist economy unless he has to, or unless he feels it will not last forever—perhaps only during several Five Year Plans? Indeed, socialism is a silly expedient when wealth and abundance exist. Why share misery if misery does not apply? Why practice a poverty economy if poverty has been conquered?

V

The third case in which socialism may emerge is illustrated in the situation of a people whose economy is largely private but who turn to socialistic methods for specific purposes. This is the American approach. We believe in, and follow, the principle of private initiative, but find that in some lines socialism functions better than does private capitalism. Here are a few examples:

A formerly profitable enterprise no longer pays dividends to its owners, who, feeling they cannot afford deficits year after year, threaten

to abandon the venture. If the service performed is a public necessity, government is forced to buy it and run it for the general welfare. Then what was formerly private capitalism becomes government capitalism, in other words, socialism. The deficit is usually made up through taxation.

Sometimes the owners of a private concern beg the government to take over their enterprise by purchase and thus to relieve them of the burden of running a losing business. For instance, during the Great Depression there was a strong sentiment among some railroad magnates in favor of the government's buying financially weakened properties and of thereby releasing the stockholders from the unwanted incubus.

About the same time, certain coal operators wanted the government to nationalize the mines. They came to Washington in the early days of the New Deal and begged Frances Perkins and Harold Ickes to use their influence in favor of such a policy. The two department heads were constrained to reply that the government did not believe in socialism and that the owners would have to keep their mines.

A few years ago the sewage system of Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, was privately controlled. The former owner at first had made a nice profit out of the business but it reached the point where no real returns were forthcoming. In part, because of the hard times of the thirties, fewer householders were tying into the system. Dividends came from expansion, not from day-to-day operation. Like the coal miners, the owner wanted to get rid of his property. To his credit, he sold it to the borough at a very reasonable price. Thus, what had been a private enterprise was suddenly socialized; so easily did socialism come to Republican Selinsgrove.

In the summer of 1948, I visited the interesting and beautiful little island of Nantucket off Cape Cod. At that time a privately owned shipping company ran steamers from the mainland to Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Since then the steamship business has been taken over by a public corporation because, when profits declined, the private company threatened to stop service. Yet transportation between the mainland and the offshore islands

was essential; if private operation was unprofitable then public enterprise had to be substituted, even if it meant making up the deficit by taxes.

Still another aspect of the question is the case of private initiative which cannot perform a service at all, or cannot perform it as well or as cheaply as can public enterprise. A good example is public education. About 125 years ago, private schools found it impossible to offer the service which society suddenly began to demand, namely, education of the children of the recently enfranchized citizens, so that the electorate could more intelligently exercise its privilege of voting. Private schools could not justly be criticized, for, by their very nature they did not have the resources to do the immense job of mass education; in addition, the new element in the voting population which needed the education most could not afford the tuition. Public education therefore became necessary as a defense of democracy if democracy was to survive. Or, to put it another way, education, which had been the privilege of the moneyed few, became an essential activity of government if the American form of government was to endure. Just as other commonwealths were doing about the same time, Pennsylvania passed a public school law in 1834, despite bitter objection from private academies and parochial schools. In due course, practically all primary and secondary education and a growing amount of higher education has been socialized. Today few people are afraid of the American educational system even though much of it is socialistic, that is, publicly owned and operated.

The main source of opposition to the growth of publicly controlled higher education is the privately controlled college, especially the church-related type. This criticism emerges, not so much because an institution like a state university or a teachers' college is socialistic, as because the teachers in the private institutions are taxed to support competitors who are slowly driving the private colleges out of existence. The situation arises because part of the tax money paid by those connected with private colleges is used for subsidies to enable state institutions to undersell private ones by charging little or no tuition. The plight of the privately controlled colleges repeats that of the privately controlled academies of the 1830's.

And yet, in all fairness, it is not enough to say that socialistic education is inevitably leading to the abolition of private education. That is probably true, but it is not the whole truth. The fact is that in many sectors of education, private enterprise simply cannot do the job society asks. Few if any private colleges, for example, can go into such costly ventures as engineering, agriculture, and similar types of vocational education. Church-related colleges in particular do not have the money for that sort of thing—in fact they often do not have the money to do a good job in ordinary liberal arts work. It is a case of socialization because private initiative cannot or will not perform the service.

Still another instance of the same principle has to do with public roads and bridges. Until the coming of the automobile, many roads were privately controlled and were financed by tolls. In fact, vestiges of the toll system continued well into the motor car age; it was not until 1930 that Pennsylvania, for instance, finally took over the last private toll highway. In more recent years a new aspect of the problem—toll bridges—has arisen in that state. For two decades a bitter controversy has been waged over the socialization of the privately owned toll bridges; by the time these words are in print all of them will probably be in state hands. Few people, except the bridge-owners, want them to remain under private control. Why can bridges and roads perform a better service for the public if they are owned and operated by the government than if owned and operated by private initiative? The question answers itself. Even the most hidebound believer in private enterprise would object if he had to stop his high-powered car every few miles in order to pay a fee at a toll gate; in fact that attitude has been one of the chief arguments for socializing Pennsylvania's toll bridges. In other words, nobody is afraid of socialism either in roads and bridges or in education. Why? Because of the sound principle that by their very nature, neither is well suited to private ownership.

During wars, socialization becomes a necessity if the military effort is to be carried on at its highest peak. In World War I the privately

competing railroads got so snarled up in traffic jams that the whole war effort was menaced; indeed it is generally agreed that, had the railroads not been placed under government operation for the duration, the war could hardly have been won. Government control was wasteful and costly; but all war is wasteful and costly, and victory had to be gained. In World War II the amount of socialization increased so enormously that it became a large percentage of the total war industry. The government built, owned, and operated merchant fleets, factories, and shipyards; numerous factories were financed and built by government but were operated privately under lease. If the military effort was to succeed, purely private initiative with its competition and duplication was unthinkable.

Moreover, many peacetime ventures are so big that private enterprise cannot handle them, at least not without charging such high rates that private control becomes self-defeating. An example is TVA, which is just as surely a case of unadulterated socialism as is public education. The same is true of Grand Coulee, Bonneville, and Hoover Dam. In the case of Grand Coulee, even if private enterprise could have financed the gigantic project, it could not have accomplished the aim in view. Of necessity, private enterprise would have charged such a high rate for electricity and irrigation water that the chief purpose of the dam would be nullified. That chief purpose was the irrigation of an area of desert the size of the state of Delaware. If the desirability of providing cheap electricity and irrigated farms be accepted, then socialization was the only feasible method to accomplish that purpose.

Sometimes public ownership is deemed necessary for moral purposes. An example is the socialistic state liquor system of Pennsylvania. The theory behind this enterprise is that the evil of the liquor business would be worse if it were handled privately, and that if this industry is to make a profit for anybody at all, the profit should go to the people as a whole.

The number of socialized enterprises is fairly large. Excluding the ones already mentioned, a partial list would name the Alaska Railroad, the Post Office, the Public Printing Office, all

public hospitals, public sanitariums, public libraries, the Federal Barge Line, much of the merchant marine, the New York Barge Canal, piers and harbor installations in many places, city-owned railways, subways, sewage systems, ferries, elevated railroads, forest preserves, and many others. The Canal Zone is almost completely socialized; Uncle Sam owns everything from the homes in which the workers live to the stores in which they buy their supplies.

Perhaps the most prolific source of socialism in the future will be atomic energy, if and when it comes to be used commonly for peaceful industrial purposes. Of course the atomic bomb had to be financed and created through government action; complete private control would have been inadmissible. Laboratories and experimental areas like Oak Ridge and Hanford, of necessity, were public enterprises. Nuclear fission is so dangerous that its control for peacetime uses cannot possibly be left in private hands unless the danger can be reduced. If we are not willing to permit a monopoly of fission by any one country, we are not going to allow a monopoly by one individual or one corporation. Should bomb production get into the hands of an atomic Al Capone, no one would be safe; a gangster with machine guns is bad enough, but with nuclear power at his disposal he could wreck the country. Thus, if atomic energy takes the place of coal, oil, gas, and other present sources of power, some students of the problem "cannot but be impressed with the thought that so-called free enterprise will not be particularly free in participating in the atomic future."

VI

When, then, if ever, can we expect the United States to go socialistic? The answer is that a considerable amount of socialism already exists. There are many who do not want that percentage to grow. Representative of that group is John Foster Dulles who lost the recent New York senatorial contest to Herbert Lehman over the issue of what Dulles called "statism." It is predicted that the Republican party will campaign in the elections of 1950 and 1952 on the same theme.

The question, therefore, refines itself down to this: when, if ever, can we expect the United States to become as socialistic as, say, Great

Britain is trying to become? The answer is that socialism to such an extent need never occur in this country provided we stop wasting our resources. If the time comes when the country is poor and the people must therefore share their poverty, then a considerable amount of socialist action is indicated. If the reader can foresee a time when the United States is denuded of its natural wealth, he can plot pretty accurately the time when the American economy will be rather thoroughly socialized. On the other hand, if the reader can visualize a future in which we have retained enough resources (or can easily get them from the outside) so that we need not commit ourselves to the rigidities of a socialist system in order to keep body and soul together, then he need have no fear. In that case, socialism will be limited to the fringe type. Of course, all bets are off if atomic power becomes common and if it remains as dangerous as it is today.

VII

In conclusion, let me stress the statement that in all likelihood this exposition of the genesis of socialism will not account for all instances which may come to the reader's mind. I do believe, however, that the present discussion may help to make clear a great deal about the origin of socialism and that it should be of service in giving depth to one's thinking about the problem of statism.

No doubt, there are other approaches to socialism which require different patterns to explain them. For example, some critics of governmental trends declare that government ownership will inevitably evolve if taxes, debts, and deficits continue to increase. Perhaps that may be another road to socialism; in as much as its analysis would require more space than can be given in this treatise, I suggest that the reader look into John W. Hanes, "A Businessman's Viewpoint on Tax Policy," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, for November, 1949.

¹The narrow majority won by Labor in the recent election would indicate that the trend toward further socialization will be slowed up; yet it is significant that, with the possible exception of steel, the Conservatives promised not to disturb the industries which had already been taken over. In fact, they claimed credit for some of the socialization already in force!

The Teacher of History in Public Schools

WILFRED BLACK

Grove City College, Grove City, Pennsylvania

In the article entitled "Social Studies and the Public Schools,"¹ the writer presented a criticism of the way in which history is taught in public schools. The response to that contribution has been varied, and the author feels that he should now propose remedial procedures. Many teachers of history attribute the low scholarship of their students to a weak background. The college professor censures the high school teacher; the latter blames the junior high school instructor who, in turn, condemns the grade teacher. Each consoles himself in the belief that he has done his best under circumstances over which he has little or no control. However, this passing of the buck is not entirely a satisfactory answer.

The successful social studies teacher must possess certain qualifications. Often he is so imbued with the pedagogy of teachers' colleges that he loses a sense of perspective and reality when he enters the classroom.

TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS

(1) Most essential is a *knowledge of subject matter* and for this there is no substitute. Not only must the teacher of social studies undergo intensive academic preparation, but he must keep abreast of contemporary developments in his field by faithfully and regularly reading weekly periodicals of both a conservative and liberal tinge. Moreover, the social studies teacher should subscribe to a couple of professional journals, such as *The American Historical Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, the *American Sociological Review* and *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, which will keep him informed of recent research in his field. Furthermore, the regular reading of a reliable educational journal or so will enable him to maintain contact with contemporary educational developments. Such publications he should read carefully, digest their contents, and note the book reviews. Knowledge is es-

sential. The teacher of social studies must keep up to date in his field. He must read, read, and read! The attending of conferences and lectures in one's field and the taking of extension work at college during summers further enhances one's knowledge of his subject matter and increases his usefulness in the classroom.

(2) *Enthusiasm and teacher personality* are primary assets for the social studies teacher. He must be alive, feel alive, look alive, and act alive. If the teacher resembles some inanimate object, how can he expect to arouse interest in his subject? If he is bored, so will his students be bored. Boredom is highly contagious. If the teacher of history does not love his work, he should quit the teaching profession—the sooner, the better.

(3) *Vividness, reality, timeliness, and imagination* are essential to good teaching. If the teacher has a good knowledge of his subject, a strong personality, and enthusiasm, half his battle is won. He must resurrect events under consideration, recreate the scene, and give it meaning. At times the teacher must come down off his pedestal and let go of himself. He must let the class laugh at and with him. A good sense of humor is a real asset. Frequently the instructor can draw an analogy from the pages of the past with some contemporary event—which usually arouses student interest. Dramatics is a valuable tool. The teacher should try to reenact certain scenes and recapture the spirit of the past. Voice control is highly effective. Many teachers ramble on and on in the same humdrum fashion. Little wonder they lull their students into mental passivity. At strategic moments the teacher can effectively lower his voice to almost a whisper. This is a tool which, if used discreetly, will stimulate student attention.

(4) A *sense of perspective* is necessary for a successful presentation of history. Too many teachers of history try to do too much. Often,

devotees of the textbook, they simply present a rehash of its chronological details. One should regard the text not as an end in itself but rather as a means to the end. It is a convenient tool but should not be overworked. Again, the teacher of history must be fair and impartial. He must present both sides of controversial subjects. He must keep his own politics, religion, and personal prejudices out of the classroom. If he is a crusader let him take to the pulpit or the lecture platform.

(5) *Broad aims, objectives, and a philosophy of education* must occupy the thinking of the successful teacher of history. His duty as a teacher of social studies is to prepare students for citizenship and greater usefulness to themselves and society. This obligation is a great one in a democracy, the successful operation of which depends much on an enlightened citizenry. The teacher should select what he regards as the most important movements and valuable lessons in history and center his course around these. Unimportant details students forget soon after (even before) the examination.

(6) Mastering the *technique of narration* is a valuable asset for teachers of history. Everybody, young and old alike, likes a good story, and the teacher of history should cultivate the art of narration. However, he ought never to sacrifice historical truth for the sake of a good story. Imagination has its role in history, but it must not be overplayed.

(7) *Common sense, good taste and discretion* constitute another prerequisite for the successful teaching of the social studies. Schools of education throughout the country place far too much emphasis on the methods and mechanics of teaching. They make classroom techniques too artificial and mechanical. If the teacher has a good knowledge of his subject, if he keeps abreast with the times, if he loves his chosen field and profession, if he is enthusiastic, if he is a good narrator who can resurrect the past with vividness, and if he maintains a sense of perspective, methods will pretty well take care of themselves.

CLASSROOM TECHNIQUES

(1) *Lecturing.* Contrary to what many colleges of education maintain, the teacher of history should employ some lecturing in the classroom. Far too often emphasis is placed on

classroom discussion, much of which is pointless and time-exacting. A reasonable amount of lecturing can effectively be incorporated into the course of study. Over-all movements and trends, difficult subject matter, and summaries can advantageously be presented in lecture form. If the teacher lends reality to subject matter, pupils enjoy listening to him. Some of the lecturing should be formal, and students should be taught to outline lecture material. Supervised outlining encourages organization, integration, and analysis—which training is of great value to students.

(2) *Chore work.* One of the great pitfalls which attends the teaching of history is the misuse of notebooks, work books, and map books. Too often their use is justifiably considered unnecessary chore work or a disciplinary measure—something to occupy the student's time and energy. Generally, much chore work along with memorization of dates, tables and picayune facts kills all interest in history.

(3) *Source materials.* High school teachers frequently fail to make use of source materials in their presentation of history. The average student, if given an opportunity, will enjoy reading entries in the journals of Lewis and Clark; the diaries of forty-niners; the letters of famous men like Washington, Jefferson, and Theodore Roosevelt; newspaper records of World War I; highlights from speeches of orators like Webster and Bryan; the Nast cartoons depicting the fraud of the Tweed Ring. Careful supervision in the use of source materials will generally motivate greater student interest, will lend deeper meaning to the textbook, and will result in richer classroom discussions. Once exposed to source materials quite a few students will peruse the library for first-hand accounts and observations from a bygone era.

(4) *Wire recorder or phonograph.* The use of a wire or tape recorder lends considerable interest and reality to the classroom. For example, this writer has recorded on wire the voices of such men as Bryan, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman, Lindbergh, Will Rogers, Mahatma Gandhi, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and Churchill. He uses these to advantage in the classroom. With the appearance of "I Can Hear

It Now" record albums on the market, the teacher can easily recapture some of the historical flavor of the past.

(5) *Biography*. Teachers can make effective use of the biographical approach to history. High school students are worshippers of heroes. Greater interest can be aroused if the teacher will read more widely in biography and present some of his more colorful findings in the classroom. In some respects history is a serial story of man's development. It has a definite plot with diverse lines of interrelated interests. It has a large and varied assortment of characters—some attractive, others repulsive, a few tragic, and others amusing. Andrew Jackson, for example, was a great actor. On the national scene he staged a colorful spectacle. While it is true he was fortunate in having a supporting cast, still he, alone, would have held the attention of the country.

(6) *Theatrics*. Classroom techniques such as effective speaking, voice control, and dramatics add immeasurably to the presentation of history. At times it is possible for the teacher to present his story in dramatic serial form. For example, this writer frequently concludes his lecture leading up to the Compromise of 1850 with the statement: "And now, before packed galleries in the Senate, Daniel Webster on March 7th arose to give his answer to John C. Calhoun. The air was tense. Everyone eagerly awaited the reply of this great orator. But there was one man—one man alone who knew in advance what Webster's answer would be. That man Daniel Webster had consulted before he prepared his speech. Since the class period has drawn to a close, we shall begin at this point next time." Often students will call out: "And who was this man whom Webster had consulted in advance? Tell us now." Some may regard this technique as cheap theatrics, but it works!

(7) *Written summary*. Here is a highly useful tool in the teaching of history and one with which few teachers are familiar. To encourage a better sense of student perspective, teachers may well require at the conclusion of each unit a written summary, say, of five hundred words. Upon the conclusion of each successive unit, the instructor should have his students prepare another summary including everything to date.

Such a word limitation encourages better perspective, coordination, and integration of material.

(8) *Collateral reading*. The successful teacher of social studies should be able to stimulate outside reading. The key, of course, is motivation. By arousing interest in history the teacher finds that students will want to read further on a phase of some subject. Of value is "the bonus system" in which the teacher draws up a list of collateral readings with the inducement of a higher grade for a progressive increase in number of pages read by the student.

(9) *Competition*. The teacher of the social studies should stimulate the competitive spirit. Students love competition, and they thrive on it. Occasionally a "spell-down" may be held in the classroom with the teacher asking objective questions over a given unit. Again, the teacher can organize an honor society. Such a club, if active, can take field trips, invite outsiders to speak to the group, or stage a Webster-Hayne debate. If a wire recorder is available the teacher can record the debate and play it back to the club or use it in the classroom. "Playbacks" invariably stimulate interest.

(10) *Interpretation*. Facts, facts, facts! Far too many teachers of history kill all interest in the subject with their emphasis on facts, dates, and unnecessary memorization. Little wonder that each time the student takes a course in history, he grumbles, "Same old stuff!" To be sure, facts are necessary and basic, but too often the student is not made aware of the significance of the facts he has learned. Facts in themselves are useless unless the student can apply them to given situations. Wider interpretations constitute a challenge to both student and teacher.

To how many teachers of high school history has the thought occurred that the basic cause of the American Revolution and the Civil War was the same? Just as an industrial, mercantile England tried to impose political and economic controls on an agrarian colonial economy, so the industrial, mercantile North tried to impose political and economic controls on an agricultural South.

In the treatment of King William's War, Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the French and Indian War how many high school teachers of history lump these American side-

shows together as a phase of the struggle between two vastly different imperial systems, each of which was seeking mastery over North America? Moreover, the Franco-American Alliance of 1777 and the War of 1812 were phases of this same Anglo-French imperial conflict.

To how many teachers of history has it occurred that in the Ordinance of 1787 the United States made a remarkable discovery—that of territorial expansion and nation-building? Her own experience with England fresh in mind, the United States in 1787 repudiated the colonial concept of empire by offering commonwealth status to new territories, not members of the original union.

Many teachers of high school history sing praises to the Great Emancipator, but how many of them have ever read the Emancipation Proclamation? Upon reading the document one discovers that Lincoln actually freed no slaves at all. It was the Thirteenth Amendment which legalized emancipation. The United States had to amend the Constitution to effect emancipation, and by so doing, the North finally accepted the Calhoun-Davis theory that slaves were property and that they could not be freed without due process of law.

Rich interpretations make students realize that history is not always the same old stuff and that its study is challenging. Furthermore, the teacher should constantly be on the alert for analogies between the past and the present. He might compare propaganda of the first World War with that of the second World War. When John Adams and the Alien and Sedition Acts are under scrutiny, the teacher may effectively draw a parallel with contemporary demands that the Communist Party be outlawed and that loyalty tests be exacted of public officials and teachers. When the class takes up the Monroe Doctrine, the teacher might suggest that by 1941 Japan was proclaiming her own Monroe Doctrine (Asia for Asiatics) and that today Mao Tze-tung is proclaiming a Monroe Doctrine for China. Analogies should evoke worthwhile classroom discussions.

(11) *Testing.* No treatment of classroom techniques seems complete without some observations on the favorite subject of testing. Public schools are "testing-crazy" today. Many teachers are so busy testing for encyclopedic facts that they have little time or inclination

to teach. Too numerous are those who bow down before the shrine of the objective test. This form of testing has its place, but far too often its role is over-emphasized. Objective examinations, this writer feels, can best be used as a frequent check-up on textbook assignments so that the teacher can make certain his students are reading. Major examinations, say at six weeks, should be subjective in order that the student can express himself fully. Moreover, the subjective examination coordinates the work of the English classroom with that of history.

Far too much attention today is devoted today to the arithmetic mean, the median, the normal curve, and other artificial trappings which are magnified beyond true proportion by colleges of education. The normal curve reminds this writer of predestination, and like religion its role in the classroom must be treated with discretion. The teacher ought to use a little more common sense in his testing program. He should exact reasonable standards of his students and by all means hold his class to accountability. Let the teacher of the social studies remember that he is doing neither himself nor the students a favor by passing those who are low in scholarship. Undeserving students whom he passes seldom respect him and those with high scholarship lose their respect for their teacher if he passes everyone. Too many students with low achievement are passed, and the teacher who is guilty of this is of no credit to himself, the student, or his school.

TEACHER-ADMINISTRATOR PROBLEMS

(1) *State-wide competitive examinations.* The subject of testing raises the problem of the teacher-administrator relationship. Too many public school administrators enter their schools in "every-pupil tests," and the teacher feels under compulsion to teach nothing except facts. This results in a loss of over-all perspective. Undoubtedly an occasional participation in a statewide testing program serves a valuable purpose if it is not carried to extremes. There simply is no justification for annual participation. Any intelligent administrator knows that such a program is highly artificial and is no accurate index of his school's progress. The teacher of social studies who has a strong per-

sonality, who is a successful teacher, and who is respected by his colleagues can do much to point out to his administrator the limitations of state competitive examinations. If his principal or superintendent cannot be brought to reason, there is little more that the teacher can do.

The writer formerly taught history for several years in a high school in Iowa, and the coaching of debate fell to his lot. He worked hard with his debaters and required them to debate both sides of the question. When his debaters participated in a tournament, they never knew what side of the question they would have to debate. Frequently he would require his affirmative team to debate the negative side. His team lost debates and they won debates, but student growth, personality, and development came first. The superintendent of schools was most understanding. Most administrators are reasonable, and the teacher himself can do much to correct questionable policies if he presents his case intelligently and diplomatically to his administrator.

(2) *Extra-curricular activities.* "How can I teach history effectively when I have to compete with athletics, band, journalism, and dramatics?" This is an often-heard question. The writer is convinced that even in a so-called progressive school (where pupil activity reigns), the teacher of the social studies can compete more successfully with extra-curricular activities than he realizes. Too often, however, he feels resigned to a cruel and relentless fate. If he loves teaching, and if he has the personality and ability to arouse interest in history, he will find that history can compete as well as any other subject (and better than most others) with extra-curricular activities. This is a vital problem, to be sure, but the intelligent and alert

teacher can at least improve what in too many public schools is a trying situation.

(3) *Discipline.* The problem of discipline occasions concern on the part of some instructors. For the older, experienced teacher it should be no serious problem. On the other hand, many teachers are young, inexperienced, flippant, and irresponsible; these, generally, are using the profession only as a stepping-stone to matrimony or a position in the business world. Such teachers should get out of teaching immediately. They are no credit to themselves, their profession, their students, or society-at-large. However, youth can be a decided asset. A young teacher with an innate love of teaching, a good knowledge of his subject, and a strong personality seldom has disciplinary problems. Discipline should be no real problem in the social studies classroom. It will not be if the teacher is successful in motivating student interest.

(4) *Teacher certification requirements.* Apropos the more difficult problem of low teacher certification requirements in the social studies, there is an answer. The writer refers specifically to such requirements as those in Pennsylvania where a social studies teacher can teach if he has nine semester credits of history, three of government, three of economics and three of sociology. The answer seems to lie in a more extensive consolidation of public schools so that teachers of the social studies can specialize at greater length. So long as there are numerous one-room schools, teacher requirements in the social studies will be inadequate. The teacher and the administrator can do much to improve this situation. They can educate the public and state legislatures to the benefits accruing from more extensive consolidation.

¹ THE SOCIAL STUDIES (October, 1949), pp. 256-259.

Problems - and - Interpretations Approaches to College History

JENNINGS B. SANDERS

Specialist for History, Division of Higher Education, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

During the past several decades, the textbook has been the only constant in the reading

materials required of college undergraduate history classes. That it still holds this unique

position is evidence of a value recognized by teachers and students alike; of late, however, new materials have been brought forward to supplement textbook narratives.

The Problem of Reading. In some instances, secondary school history texts closely rival in scope certain of the college texts, and on some topics the secondary school book may actually have the fuller treatment.¹ Moreover, modern secondary school history texts not infrequently list among their reading references works of a biographical, monographic or otherwise specialized character commonly found on college history reading lists. Thus the college history instructor may have in his classes students fresh from a high school history course whose text materials were approximately equal to those they are now required to procure for their college course.

Whether the college text adds little or much to the high school text, the college instructor, using the text only as an outline guide and wishing his students to consider somewhat intensively certain problems or themes of history, has the constantly recurring problem of providing for his classes appropriate and accessible supplementary reading materials in sufficient quantity that all class members will have a chance to read them within a specified period. It may be that he wishes his students to read certain articles in the historical reviews, or chapters in specialized works of which the library has but a single copy. Moreover, he may wish his students to read portions of a large number of scattered or rare source materials bearing on a particular problem, but he may find that the condition and location of these materials make their use by a large group of undergraduates a virtual impossibility. The obvious solution to this problem is a compilation of the desired readings, and for many years valuable works of this kind, commonly called "source books," "readings," or "documents," have been used in history classes. More specialized collections² bearing on a single theme or on a limited number of themes have likewise long been in use. Recently, multi-volume readings prepared at Amherst and Yale have carried the compilation process a step further and have opened up possibilities of wider usefulness for materials of this kind.

Historical Interpretation Volumes at Yale. Under the general heading, "Select Problems in Historical Interpretation," members of the Yale history staff are seeking a way to supplement, though not to supersede, the history textbook with a series of volumes³ dealing comprehensively with particular problems or themes of American, English, and European history. For instance in the 362-page volume, *Nationalism and Sectionalism in America 1775-1877*, are brought together—with "Questions for Study," statements of "Historical Background," and with other notes—a wide range of source material and present-day interpretations all bearing on the continuing problem of nationalism and sectionalism in the United States. With these materials before him, the student is enabled to probe deeper into a selected historical problem than any textbook could possibly go. Moreover, he is afforded an opportunity of critically evaluating historical materials and forming his own conclusions, thus securing practice in the art of historianship.

American Civilization Series at Amherst. At Amherst, the history staff has brought together in a series of compact volumes entitled, "Problems in American Civilization,"⁴ the observations or conclusions of certain scholars respecting some leading problems in American history. For example, the volume entitled *The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History*, contains, in addition to the late Professor Turner's famous essay, statements or critiques of the Turner theory by seven other recognized scholars. Likewise, the volume on *Slavery as a Cause of the Civil War* contains the views of eight scholars on a problem of continuing interest in our history. Although the contributions to these volumes had previously appeared as articles or as chapters of books, it is a real service to students and instructors alike to have these studies published in the form of convenient compilations. Each volume has an "Introduction" and "Suggestions for Additional Reading."

Possible Bearing of New Readings on Instruction. Should the use of special problem and interpretative materials become general—and their use, in one form or another, is by no means

limited to Amherst and Yale—it is possible that the student increasingly will be expected to bring as a part of his equipment from the secondary school a general factual pattern of history, thus leaving college history departments free, even in introductory courses, to deal intensively with selected areas and themes of history. This would mean no narrowing of the scope of history embraced by the department, but rather a supplanting of conventional topical-chronological procedures of instruction by procedures that would tend more strongly

to put the student on his own and introduce him to the problem of drawing conclusions from conflicting evidence.

¹ See: Robert E. Keohane, "Articulation Between High School and College," in *Seventeenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (1946), pp. 258-266, especially the table on p. 260.

² Examples of these are the *American History Leaflets* series (Parker P. Simmons Company, New York); the *Harper's Parallel Source Problems* series (Harper and Brothers, New York); and the *Landmarks of History* series (F. S. Crofts and Company, New York).

³ Published by Henry Holt and Company, New York.

⁴ Published by D. C. Heath and Company, Boston.

The American Revolution and British Imperial Policy

CARL B. CONE

University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

There is a traditional view, neat and superficially plausible, that the departure of the thirteen American colonies from the imperial fold produced a remarkable change in the attitudes of British statesmen about imperial problems. A. L. Rowse says that the English, learning from past errors, consciously attempted "in imperial policy in the nineteenth century to avoid the mistakes made in the treatment of the American Colonies: hence the unexpected success, on the whole, of our record with Canada and the wonderful reward the Canadians have given us in this century of our peril."¹ All of this sounds reasonable. After 1783, it seems, the British were resolved never again to antagonize their colonists, having learned well from the bitter experience of the American Revolution. Therefore, in the future, when colonists proclaimed dissatisfaction with imperial administration the British must hasten to make concessions, else the colonists would grow sulky and might even resort to the extreme remedies adopted by the Americans.

This thesis has corollaries. One of them is expressed by F. J. C. Hearnshaw: "To British public opinion the revolt of the American colonies seemed to be a case of the grossest ingratitude and disloyalty. . . . Colonies, it seemed clear, were an unprofitable nuisance—a source

of endless friction, of frequent war, of expense for which there was no adequate return. A saying of the great French statesman and economist Turgot was widely quoted and generally accepted as true: 'Colonies are like fruit which, when ripe, inevitably falls off from the parent tree.' Consequently, from 1783 onward for about a century the attitude of Great Britain towards overseas possessions was one of indifference or even hostility."² Some Britishers (but hardly "Great Britain," if that means all Britishers) did think about colonies in the terms Mr. Hearnshaw indicates. King George III hoped he would not be blamed for the downfall of the Empire and Lord Shelburne wondered whether colonies were worthwhile. This pessimism was a natural aftermath of the war, for Britain had apparently sunk to a low estate in the world and seemed to be facing serious domestic troubles. But within six years she had made a remarkable recovery and the future looked much brighter. The postwar gloom, a "mood rather than a conviction,"³ had grown out of a sense of failure, and was not the same sentiment as the nineteenth century apathy towards Empire felt by the Little Englanders. Their dominant attitude was one of optimism about the prospects of Britain, of world prosperity and peace.

Following Alfred Zimmern, it has become fashionable to speak of the first, second and third British Empires, with the American Revolution separating the first two and World War I the other two. Mr. Zimmern does not describe in detail the first British Empire, but he evidently means that it was comprised of Atlantic settlement colonies, governed upon mercantilistic principles which required subordination of the colonies in politics and economics. That Empire, he says, was "abruptly extinguished or at least summarily curtailed" by the American Revolution. After this "disruption" there arose the free trade second empire in whose institutions place was found "for the planting of the seed of liberty."⁴ The incisiveness of this change, more sudden than transitory, according to Mr. Zimmern, is belied by the historical facts of the period following 1783. Yet, Gerald S. Graham, in an article on the British navy during the American Revolution, speaks of the "break-down of the first British Empire" as an immediate consequence of the war.⁵ The most apt comparison would seem to be that of the British Empire and the one-hoss shay. This version of imperial history is repeated by Paul Knaplund who introduces his widely used college textbook by saying, "Although the American Revolution shattered the first British Empire, by 1815 a new one had been erected, one with potentialities undreamed of at that time."⁶ Without impertinence one has a right to ask what is meant by "shattered" and how, except for being larger, the Empire of 1815 was new, that is, different. Administrative and commercial policy had not been changed.

The complete version of the traditional view may now be summarized. The American Revolution "shattered" the first or mercantilistic Empire. The loss of the American colonies made Englishmen disillusioned about the virtues and benefits of Empire. Yet, willy-nilly, a new Empire arose amidst the indifference of Englishmen who, remembering the American Revolution and not wishing to endure a repetition of imperial unpleasantness, made concessions to colonial demands for self-government and commercial autonomy. Always there was the conviction that Empire was without value and the colonies, when they matured, would drop off the parent stem. The sources

from which this view has been compiled have, except for Mr. Zimmern's book, appeared since 1940, although writers before and after 1940 have disagreed with it. Howard Robinson denies that the anti-imperialism of some groups in the nineteenth century can be considered as an "immediate result" of the American Revolution. He insists on the importance of the Industrial Revolution in considering the transition from the old to the new Empire.⁷ If one gives prominence to economic influences then he would have to argue that the old Empire declined gradually rather than broke down suddenly. Charles Mullett says the British Empire emerged from the war "with little glory" but "very much a world power." He reminds us that any conclusion about American experience proving the inevitability of colonial maturity bringing aspirations for independence must "be tempered with further consideration." He admits that while the American Revolution stimulated anti-mercantilistic sentiments, practice did not follow ideas, for the old colonial system continued to operate "as of yore."⁸ J. A. Williamson denies that the British Empire expired in 1783. To say there was no further interest in settlement colonies after the Revolution is true only "to a certain extent" for "so large exceptions as Canada and Australia, both the scenes of new settlement soon after 1783, do not leave a great deal of truth in the general statement."⁹ Because current writings, even in the face of available correctives, continue to present what seems to be an exaggerated conception of the effects of the American Revolution upon imperial theory and policy, it may be appropriate to make this query—how closely does the traditional account fit the evidence of events?

To dispose first of the most obvious matter, the territorial extent of the Empire, one may recall what was actually lost by the treaty of 1783. The region bounded by the Atlantic, the Gulf, the Mississippi and the Great Lakes was gone. There remained under British control the West Indies, British North America, India and scattered colonies of insignificant size. The ceded area was a minor portion of the former Empire, and certainly it was not considered to be the only part of the Empire having economic importance. The Empire was not destroyed or

shattered because of the territorial loss resulting from the American Revolution. There is no agreed minimum to be met before a nation can apply the term "Empire" to its overseas holdings. Enough territory remained after 1783 to deserve the appellation of Empire. But this is not the important problem. A chronological review will indicate that Britain had no intention of abdicating her imperial position after 1783, that she continued, not always absent-mindedly, to annex territory, that mercantilistic policies and attitudes remained in force, and when they were gradually discarded, it was for reasons quite different than defeat in the American Revolution.

Within five years of the Treaty of Paris Britain did two things that can only be interpreted as expressing a firm intention to remain an imperial power. Pitt's India Act of 1784 brought the British government much more intimately into the affairs of India, and remained the basis of British administration for nearly seventy years. The decision to found a penal settlement in Australia was followed at once by the establishment of a colony. Although the convict question was uppermost in official thinking, the desire to anticipate France and the idea that export crops might be raised in Australia were not absent. Neither of these actions suggests profound disillusionment or intentional indifference concerning the future of empire.

In 1791 Parliament passed an act creating a new government for Canada. The debate upon the measure contained little indication that the experience with the former thirteen American colonies taught lessons that must be taken into account when legislating for Canada. Pitt and Lord Grenville insisted upon what they considered a proper balance among the three elements of the British constitution—monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Pitt said the existence of an elected assembly, an appointed council, and hereditary honours would provide all the advantages of the British system. He did, however, make one concession to earlier experience. "Misunderstanding," such as there had formerly been, would be eliminated by denying to Parliament the power to levy taxes except for purposes of commercial regulation.¹⁰ Fox objected to several features of the proposed

bill because they were too restrictive of freedom. There would be the shadow but not the substance of the British Constitution, and "the only means of retaining distant colonies with advantage was, to enable them to govern themselves."¹¹ While this statement seems liberal enough, and the sentiment in it derived from memory of the troubles with America, Fox is not suggesting the nineteenth century content of the phrase "self-government," and his interest is in keeping Canada in the Empire. He wants to give Canada a government liberal enough to ensure the happiness of the governed, for the American states revolted because they did not think themselves sufficiently free. But he never contemplated the necessity of any form more advanced than representative government. He wants to make the Assembly more democratic and representative, yet he ignores the chief defect of the Act and of the old colonial governments, the separation between executive and legislature, with the constant friction that grew out of a division of responsibility. The difference between Fox and Pitt was a matter of degree. Neither had any thought of dissolution of the Empire; both were trying hard to preserve it; and Fox assured Pitt that he too believed Britain must never depart from the practice of blending monarchy, aristocracy and democracy in the governments of colonies.¹² Fox sought to reinforce the democratic element; Pitt and Grenville wanted to strengthen the aristocratic one. As Grenville wrote to Lord Dorchester, October 20, 1789, the Legislative Council was so constituted as to give to the upper house more "weight and consequence" than councils had possessed in the old colonial governments.¹³

The objections of Fox, which after all had not touched what time was to reveal as the most glaring constitutional defect of the Canada Act, were overruled, and the bill as passed reflects the thinking of Pitt and Grenville. Except for the principle of the Declaratory Act of 1778 relating to internal taxes, the form of government imposed upon Upper and Lower Canada was almost a replica of that employed in the American colonies before the Revolution. None of the parliamentary speakers predicted that to duplicate the older colonial governments promised trouble for the future. The friction

between executive and assembly, frequently bothersome in former times, was ensured for Canada also. The next fifty years of Canadian history show clearly that Britain applied no lessons that might have been learned from her former experience with colonial assemblies. The division of responsibility between governor and council on one side and the assembly on the other was guaranteed by the Canada Act. Sixty years of trouble in Canada were needed to convince British statesmen of their error; finally they made concessions because of changed economic theory and conditions, and not because the specter of the American Revolution haunted them. The dilemma of Lord John Russell concerning the incompatibility of responsible government and imperial authority reveals how he wanted no part in reducing the executive to legislative control, a constitutional convention that he believed would be tantamount to dissolution of the imperial connection.

The debate on the Canada Act of 1791 was confined almost entirely to constitutional questions. The neglect of economic considerations, except in the discussion on commercial law and on one other matter, indicates the absence of any intention to modify those mercantilistic restrictions that had vexed the Americans. Lord Sheffield's solitary reference to economic problems is in the mercantilistic tradition.¹⁴ He wanted to check westward migration in Canada for "It was not the interest of England to raise colonies of farmers, in a country which could only produce the same articles as England did." He would, of course, encourage the fur trade. After he became prime minister, Pitt, who was a disciple of Adam Smith, and had demonstrated it by his commercial treaty with France, did not question mercantilistic assumptions regarding the Empire. Neither did Fox, whose liberalism was almost exclusively political. In fact, with minor exceptions and some of these only temporary, as the West Indian trade with the United States, Britain continued for a generation to control the economic life of the Empire upon mercantilistic principles.

In the 1790's a needed reorganization was undertaken in the British administrative departments, part of which involved the colonial problem. In 1801 the colonies were clearly placed under the jurisdiction of the Secretary

of State for War, for the close relationship between Empire and military affairs during the Napoleonic Wars was patent. This combination remained until 1854, not without reason because in the period following the Treaty of Vienna there was warfare somewhere in the Empire two years out of every three. In 1854, due to the exigencies of the Crimean War, a separate Secretaryship for Colonies was established. Thus, at the time when the Little Englander influence was at its height, colonial administration was more sharply defined than it had ever been.

During the Napoleonic Wars, Britain never lost sight of the importance of Empire to her welfare and destiny. In fact, she acquired a renewed faith in the value of overseas possessions. Her refusal to make extensive territorial annexations, which she could easily have done with her command of the sea, is often taken as proof of her reluctance to enlarge her imperial responsibilities. Yet the colonies she acquired were taken with a view to increasing the security of her Empire and rendering easier its protection, and she retained these colonies when the war ended. Was there any reason why she should have taken more? Her conquests in India were continuing. There was little except the Dutch East Indies that seemed in 1815 capable of profitable exploitation and development. Dutch competition was not the menace it had been in the seventeenth century; France had no overseas empire; disaffection, soon to become disruptive revolution, was stirring in the Spanish dominions. The British Empire, now that certain strategic additions had been made to it and now that British sea-power was unchallenged, was more secure than it had been for two hundred years.

Empires have been acquired in modern history during periods of intense international competition for power and trade. In the decades following the Congress of Vienna, the absence of such competition, at least among the seafaring nations of Europe, goes further to explain Britain's apparent lack of territorial cupidity than do assertions that as an aftermath of the American Revolution apathy towards Empire became endemic. Considering the state of geographical knowledge in 1815, there was not much else in the world that

Britain could reasonably be expected to covet. Sixty years of exploration and industrial development, the beginning of foreign competition for non-European markets and territories, and the rise of protective tariffs were needed before Britain became aggressively expansionist.

In the meantime, she had been adding to her Empire. Because she did not do it enthusiastically, and often passed up opportunities to take additional territories, does not mean the opposite, that she was anti-imperialist. The world being what it was in the first half of the nineteenth century, politically, economically and militarily, there was no compelling commercial or strategic reason for Britain ardently to annex colonies. In the light of the circumstances of 1815, the wonder may well be, not that Britain took so little, but rather that she took so much.

The history of the British navy in the first half of the nineteenth century is understandable only in relation to imperial responsibilities. The seventeenth century had seen the rise of the Empire, the expansion of trading areas and the creation of a national navy with imperial and commercial responsibilities added to the burden of defending the British Isles. These three factors are so inextricably related that none can be understood in isolation. Realization of the all-inclusive function of the British navy became the intuitive possession of the British people, and it remained as strong after the Napoleonic Wars, which had reinforced it, as it had been during the previous two centuries. While much of the navy was placed "in ordinary" after 1815, British sea-power, even in an economy-minded age, was not permitted to decline so far as to jeopardize the defense of Empire and trade. Despite the attacks of the Little Englanders upon naval estimates, Britain retained her paramountcy upon the oceans of the world.

The abandonment of mercantilism in the three decades following the Napoleonic Wars cannot be attributed to lessons learned in losing the American colonies. Two reasons explain the growth of free trade, and concomitantly, the rise of the so-called second Empire, and neither is dependent upon the memory of Revolutionary experiences. The growth of British industry during and following the Napoleonic era made

Britain the world's industrial leader. She had no reason to fear the manufacturing competition of any other nation. She could afford free trade. Simultaneously, there occurred the elaboration and popularization of laissez-faire economic theory. The origin of the classical doctrines antedates the trouble with the American colonies. Adam Smith's book, which was a sharp attack upon the mercantilistic economic and imperial position, would have appeared and would have been just as influential had there never been an American Revolution. The economists of the next two generations developed a body of thought antithetical to mercantilistic principles. By the 1820's this economic theory was being zealously propagandized in the press and in Parliament, soon became the possession of the merchant and manufacturing classes, and eventually became as much a part of the British outlook as was the concept of the importance of sea-power. Free trade, with all the economic and moral advantages that Cobden preached, became the order of the day. Industrial and commercial fact harmonized with abstract economic theory, and men thought of Empire in these terms rather than with reference to memories of the American Revolution, now an event which no one living could remember. The old mercantilistic regulations, which had survived for three decades after the loss of the American colonies, were repealed by parliaments the majority of whose members were supporters of the new creed.

The attitude of the "Little Englanders" towards Empire was based, therefore, not on memories of the American Revolution but upon contemporary economic theory and reality. Insofar as that Revolution was itself an attack upon mercantilism, it may have contributed indirectly to the ultimate victory of free trade. But the connection is at best tenuous, for mercantilism survived after the revolutionary generation was dead. The Cobdenites did not emphasize any obligation to the American Revolution for having assisted them in their free trade campaign.

The victory for responsible government was achieved in the same period that mercantilism was destroyed. There is more than a casual chronological relation between these events. Colonial self-government was permissible, and

finally desirable, not because dissatisfied colonies would emulate the Americans unless Britain would yield to their demands, but because there was no longer economic advantage in maintaining the old restrictions. In the words of Goldwin Smith: "The time was when the universal prevalence of commercial monopoly made it worth our while to hold colonies in dependence for the sake of commanding their trade. But that time has gone. Trade is everywhere becoming free; and this expensive and perilous connexion has entirely survived its sole legitimate cause."¹⁵ That is, let the colonies become self-governing, or even independent. While trade is free, men will buy and sell wherever they can to the greatest advantage. Imperial sentiment is nothing compared with the force of economic self-interest. As long as Britain retains her industrial supremacy she need not fear that quondam colonies will cease trading with her, and the British tax-payer will not have to bear so heavy a load.

Again one could refer to American experience, but in a different and more gradual sense than is meant by those holding to the high view of the importance of the American Revolution in influencing British imperial policy. The American states, having become free, continued to trade with Britain. The accuracy of Josiah Tucker's prediction was revealed in trade statistics. The United States was Britain's best single customer. If Canada went free, there was no reason to expect that British-Canadian trade relations would follow a different pattern than those with the United States. The loss of the American colonies made possible the realization that people follow self-interest in conducting their foreign trade, but this is not the point the traditionalists make.

So much emphasis has been placed upon the development of responsible government in British North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, that it is easy to forget the rest of the Empire in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Englishmen continued to call the self-governing communities colonies; these were the colonies that Little Englanders or Disraeli were thinking of when they talked about the dissolution of the Empire. The old West Indian colonies experienced constitutional retrogression in this period while the newly

acquired crown colonies were kept in political subjection without even representative institutions. The Little Englanders did not envisage their becoming self-governing or the non-English Empire dissolving. To say that mid-nineteenth century Englishmen were indifferent towards Empire is only a partial truth. Some Englishmen were, but only towards part of the Empire, the portions whose inhabitants seemed capable of governing themselves.

The distinction between the first and second British Empires, the one governed according to mercantilistic precepts, the other emphasizing free trade and permitting self-government in the more favored colonies, is sound enough if cautions are borne in mind. The American Revolution did not destroy or even mark the end of the first empire, nor was it the efficient cause of the second, whose rise took half a century. Mercantilistic principles continued to govern imperial trade long after 1783, and were abandoned as a consequence of the new economic theory and the achievement by Britain of industrial supremacy. Until the 1840's representative government, firmly established before the American Revolution in colonies that seemed suited for it, was the most liberal kind the official English mind could envisage. Responsible government was accepted for the same reasons and at the same time as free trade. The only indisputable statement one can make about the effect of the American Revolution upon the Empire is that the Empire was smaller because thirteen former colonies were lost.

¹ *The Use of History* (New York, 1948), 201.

² *Sea-Power and Empire* (London, 1940), 167-68.

³ *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1940), II, 2.

⁴ *The Third British Empire* (London, 1926), 2, 3.

⁵ "Considerations on the War of American Independence," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXII, No. 65 (May, 1949), 34.

⁶ *The British Empire, 1815-1939* (New York, 1941), xvii.

⁷ *The Development of the British Empire* (Boston, 1936), 128, 142.

⁸ *The British Empire* (New York, 1938), 264, 265, 297, 301.

⁹ *Great Britain and the Empire* (London, 1946), 100-101.

¹⁰ *Parliamentary History*, XXVIII, 1377-78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 1379; XXIX, 110.

¹² *Ibid.*, XXIX, 409.

¹³ A. B. Keith, *Selected Speeches and Documents in British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917* (2 vols., Oxford University Press, 1933), I, 90.

¹⁴ *Parliamentary History*, XXIX, 404.

¹⁵ Quoted in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, II, 750.

Topic T6. English Colonies: Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas

STUDY OUTLINE

1. Virginia
 - a. London Company: charters, land grants, and powers of government
 - b. Early difficulties: poor character of colonists; plural governing council; bad climate and water; search for gold; profit-seeking for London Company; bad Indian policy; absence of individual ownership of land or goods produced
 - c. Attainment of economic and political success
 - 1) Single executive; strong governors; codes of law
 - 2) Individual ownership of land
 - 3) Tobacco cultivation and economic prosperity
 - 4) Laboring class obtained: white servants; Indian and Negro slaves (1619)
 - d. Representative government, 1619: first representative assembly in America
 - e. Loss of charter and establishment of royal government; forms of royal control; continuance of popular elections and assemblies
 - f. The Navigation Acts of the Commonwealth and of Charles II
 - g. How Virginia became "The Old Dominion"
 - h. Governor Berkeley and the Restoration; growth of aristocracy
 - i. Bacon's rebellion: causes; results; significance
2. Maryland
 - a. Position of Catholic Englishmen
 - b. Lord Baltimore's charter: land grant; governmental powers; commercial privileges
 - c. First settlement: St. Mary's, 1634; establishment of representative government; religious toleration
 - d. English civil wars and disorders, 1640-1660
 - e. English Revolution of 1688-1689; Catholics disfranchised; English Church established
 - f. Lord Baltimore regains Maryland (1714) after his conversion to Protestantism
 - g. Severe laws against Catholics down to American Revolution
3. The Carolinas
 - a. Early settlements by Virginians, 1653; grants to eight proprietors, 1663, &c.
 - b. Settlements at north and at south of grant, resulting in two political and economic districts
 - c. The "concessions" or privileges granted to colonists
 - d. Locke's Fundamental Constitutions; failure to establish feudal aristocracy

- e. Popular government established; many uprisings against the proprietary governments
- f. Surrender of S. Carolina to Crown, 1718, and of N. Carolina, 1728; forms of royal government established
4. Life in Southern Colonies
 - a. Industry
 - 1) Agriculture: tobacco, Indian corn, indigo, rice
 - 2) Other products: naval stores, pitch, turpentine, masts, spars, &c.; salted meats; potash; silk (?)
 - b. Labor system: White servants, Indians, Negro labor
 - c. Religion: Church of England established; repressive attitude toward Catholics, Puritans, Quakers; government of the parish
 - d. Local government: county court the principal feature; justices of the peace, with almost hereditary tenure

AIDS TO LEARNING

AUDIO-VISUAL

- American Colonies (12 plates, in color). F. E. Compton Co.
- The Thirteen Colonies and Their Settlement (26 slides). The Pageant of America Lantern Slides, by Yale University Press
- Discovery, Exploration, Settlement (48 plates, with text). Informative Classroom Picture Publishers
- Discovery and Exploration, 1492-1620 (filmstrip); The English Settlement and Colonial Conflicts, 1620-1763 (filmstrip). Society for Visual Education, Inc.
- Colonial Virginia (filmstrip). Pictorial Events, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
- Planters of Colonial Virginia (16 mm. sound film, 11 min. Also in filmstrip). Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc.
- Jamestown (silent film, 48 min.). Yale University Press
- #### HISTORIES
- C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period* (Home University Library)
- C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government*, L. G. Tyler, *England in America* (The American Nation, vols. 4, 5)
- C. L. Becker, *Beginnings of the American People* (Riverside History of the United States, vol. 1)
- G. P. Fisher, *The Colonial Era* (American History series)
- M. W. Jernegan, *The American Colonies* (Epochs of American History)
- M. Johnston, *Pioneers of the Old South* (The Chronicles of America, vol. 5)
- H. I. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man*, T. J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans* (A History of American Life, vols. 1, 2)
- C. Wissler, C. L. Skinner, W. Wood, *Adventurers in the Wilderness* (The Pageant of America, vol. 1)
- J. T. Adams, *Album of American History*, I; G. Bancroft, *History of the United States*, I, II; *Cambridge Modern History*, VII; E. Channing, *History of the United States*, I; E. Eggleston, *The Beginners of a Nation*; J. Fiske, *Old Virginia*, I, II; E. Singmaster, *The Book of the Colonies*
- Biographies: D. Garnett, *Pocahontas*; V. Quinn, *The Exciting Adventures of Captain John Smith*
- #### ATLASES
- Harper's *Atlas of American History*; C. L. & E. H. Lord, *Historical Atlas of the United States*
- ¹ This is the sixth of a series of History Topics for American History, prepared by Morris Wolf, Girard College, Philadelphia, Pa.

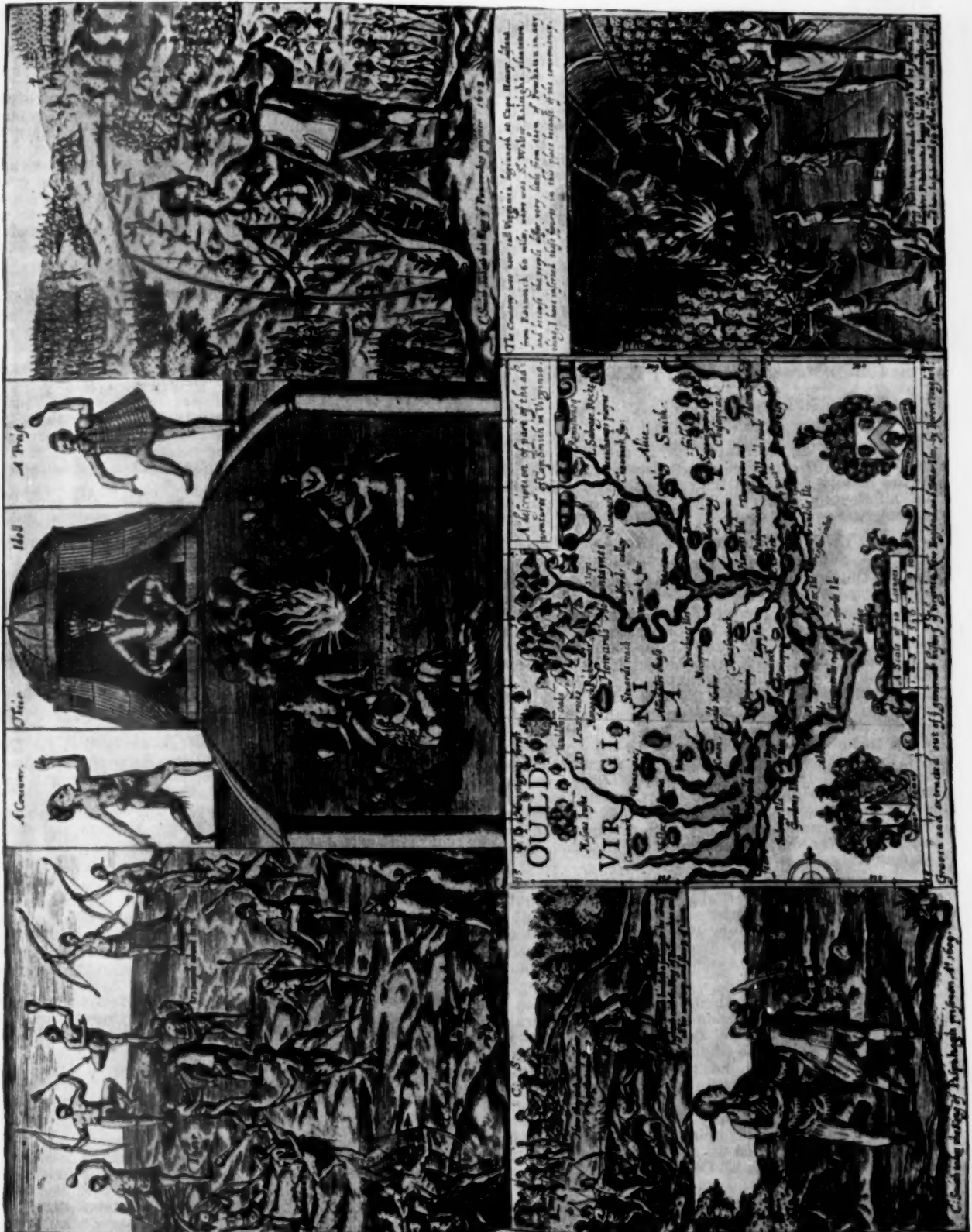


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MAP STUDY FOR TOPIC T6. LAND GRANTS AND SOUTHERN SETTLEMENTS

Show on map the British land grants and places of settlement from Maryland south. Indicate the frontier line c. 1715. Bound and label the colonies.

VIEWS OF VIRGINIA, FROM CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S "THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA, NEW ENGLAND AND THE SUMMER ISLES"



The map showing the coast from Cape Henry to Albemarle Sound, occupies but a small part of the plate, the remainder depicting Smith's exploits. From left to right across the top are shown: (1) Smith taken prisoner and bound to a tree to be shot; (2) A view of an Indian idol, a conjurer and a priest, and a conjuration of the Indians over Smith; (3) Smith taking prisoner the King of Pamaunkee. At the lower left Smith is again taken prisoner, but fights free. At the lower right is Pocahontas' rescue of Smith.

Point out several evidences in these pictures that Smith, with his background of European Culture, misunderstood features of the unfamiliar Indian culture.

STORIES

T. Boyd, *Shadow of the Long Knives*; E. J. Coatsworth, *The Golden Horseshoe*; M. Criss, *Pocahontas, Young American Princess*; G. Crownfield, *Strong Hearts and Bold*; J. Davis, *Peter Hale*; C. Dowdey, *Gamble's Hundred*; E. Gray, *Beppy Marlow of Charles Town*; R. L. Holberg, *Captain John Smith*; M. Johnston, *The Great Valley, Prisoners of Hope, The Slave Ship*; H. F. Orton, *A Lad of Old Williamsburg*; R. D. Paine, *Blackbeard, Buccaneer*; H. Pyle, *The Story of Jack Ballister's Fortunes*; P. L. Scruggs, *Men Cannot Tell*; A. L. Stillman, *Drums Beat in Old Carolina*; C. M. Sublette, *The Bright Face of Danger*; E. Turpin, *Littling of Gaywood*

SOURCES

H. S. Commager, *Documents of American History*, nos. 5-9, 15-22; H. S. Commager & A. Nevins, *The Heritage of America*, 5; A. B. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, I, chs. 9-13; D. S. Muzzey, *Readings in American History*, 10-12; *Old South Leaflets*, 167, 170, 172; *Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, America*, II ("Colonization")

FIRST REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY IN AMERICA (1619)

The records of the first Virginia assembly were not known to be in existence until discovered in England, by the historian George Bancroft, about the middle of the nineteenth century. They have been republished several times.

[Friday, July 30, 1619.]

The most convenient place we could finde to sitt in was the Quire of the Church Where Sir George Yeardley the Governour, being sett downe in his accustomed place, those of the Counsel of Estate sate nexte him on both handes, excepte onely the Secretary then appointed Speaker, who sate right before him, John Twine, clerke of the General assembly, being placed nexte the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the barre, to be ready for any service the Assembly shoulde command him. But forasmuche as men's affaires doe little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses tooke their places in the Quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the Minister, . . . Prayer being ended, . . . all the Burgesses were intreated to retyre themselves into the body of the Church, wch being done, before they were full admitted they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) tooke the oathe of Supremacy, and then entered the Assembly. . . .

. . . the Speaker, who a long time had bene extreame sickly, and therefore not able to passe through long harangues, delivered in briefe to the whole assembly the occasions of their meeting. Which done, he read unto them the commission for establishing the Counsell of Estate and the General Assembly, wherein their duties are described to the life.

Having thus prepared them, he read unto them the greate Charter, or commission of priviledges, orders and lawes, sent by Sir George Yeardley out of Englande. Which for the more ease of the Committees, having divided into fower books, he read the former two the same forenoon for expeditious sake, a second time over, and so they were referred to the perusall of twoe Comitties, wch did reciprocally consider of either, and accordingly brought in their opinions. But some man may here objecte to what ende we should presume to referre that to the examination of Comitties wch the Counsell and Company in England had already resolved to be perfect, and did expecte nothing but our assente thereunto. To this we answere, that we did it not to the ende to correcte or controll anything therein contained, but onely in case we should finde ought [aught] not perfecting squaring wth the state of this Colony or any lawe wch did presse or binde too harde, that we might

by waye of humble petition, seeke to have it redressed, especially because this great Charter is to binde us and our heyers for ever. . . .

Saturday, July 31.

The nexte daye, therefore, out of the opinions of the said Comitties, it was agreed, these Petitions ensuing should be framed, to be presented to the Treasurer, Counsel & Company in England. . . .

At the same time, there remaining no farther scruple in the minds of the Assembly, touching the said great Charter of lawes, orders and priviledges, the Speaker putt the same to the question, and so it had both the general assent and the applause of the whole assembly, . . .

Munday, Aug. 2.

By this present Generall Assembly be it enacted, that no injury or oppression be wrought by the Englishe against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and antient quarrells might be revived. . . .

Against Idleness, Gaming, durunkenes & excesse in apparell the Assembly hath enacted as followeth:

First, in detestation of Idleness be it enacted, that if any men be founde to live as an Idler, or renagate, though a freedman, it shalbe lawfull for that Incorporation or Plantation to wch he belongeth to appoint him a Mr to serve for wages, till he shewe apparent signes of amendment.

Against drunkenness be it also decreed that if any private person be found culpable thereof, for the first time he is to be reproved privately by the Minister, the second time publicquely, the thirde time to lye in boltes 12 howers in the house of the Provost Marshall & to paye his fee, and if he still continue in that vice, to undergoe suche severe punishment as the Governor and the Counsell of Estate shall thinke fitt to be inflicted on him. . . .

Against excesse in apparell that every man be cessed [assessed for taxes] in the church for all publike contributions, if he be unmarried according to his owne apparell, if he be married according to his owne and his wives, or either of their apparell. . . .

Be it enacted by this present assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, eache towne, citty, Borrough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certaine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in the true religion and civile course of life. . . .

Wednesday, Aug. 4th

This daye (by reason of extream heat, both paste and likely to ensue, and by that meanes of the alteration of the healthes of diverse of the general Assembly) the Governour, who himselfe also was not well, resolved should be the last of this first session; so in the morning the Speaker (as he was required by the Assembly) redd over all the lawes and orders that had formerly passed the house, to give the same yett one reviewe more, and to see whether there were any thing to be amended or that might be excepted againste. . . .

All persons whatsoever upon the Sabaoth daye shall frequente divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon, and all suche as beare arms shall bring their pieces, swordes, poulder and shotte. . . . —*Colonial Records of Virginia*, 9-32.

1. What were the seating arrangements for delegates, who were the officers, and how did committees function? 2. With what matters did the Assembly deal and how was a law made? 3. What position did the Assembly take on orders and laws sent from England? 4. Prove, from this record of the first Assembly, that the church played a more varied role in community life than it now does. 5. What is the explanation for the spelling and abbreviations used in writings of that time?

A Unit Course Outline in American History*

H. M. BOODISH

Chairman, Social Studies Department, Dobbins Vocational-Technical School Philadelphia

PART II

Unit IV. Strengthening the Bonds of Union.

I. *Introduction.* The growth of a nation from infancy to maturity can be compared to that of a person. It is beset with numerous problems as difficult as teething and fighting the measles. Following the War for Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, the United States began its career as a new and independent nation. Its people, although tired from a long war and desiring to settle down to a peaceful life, were not yet united. There were too many problems that vexed the newborn nation. There were agrarian interests and mercantile interests which conflicted in many ways. One group believed in a land of farmers, with greater democratic control by the people. There were some who believed in a strict and narrow interpretation of the Constitution, and there were others who believed in a broad and liberal interpretation of the Constitution. There were also problems that had to do with banks, the tariff, territorial expansion and slavery. The latter was a problem so big that it had to be settled later by a Civil War. But like a growing child that has good hereditary background, the young Republic was able to weather the winds and storms successfully.

II. *Specific Understandings to be Derived.*

- A. An understanding of the inter-relationship between the social, political and economic problems that faced our country after the adoption of the Constitution.
- B. An understanding of how our present-day institutions have been influenced in their

development by the manner in which the early problems of our country were handled.

- C. A knowledge and appreciation of those persons who were chosen to guide the destiny of our country.

III. *The Problem of Organizing a New Government.* (One week)

A. Pupil activities.

Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with the above topic. (See list of books at end of course outline)

Answer the following questions:

1. List some of the immediate problems that faced the new government of George Washington.
2. What persons made up his first Cabinet?
3. Who was Washington's most influential adviser?
4. How did he plan to handle the problems of the national debt and currency?
5. What was the Whiskey Rebellion? Of what significance was it?
6. Describe how political parties originated during Washington's first administration.
7. What were the names of the two parties? What did each stand for? Who were their leaders?
8. Check with the index the pages given for the topics below and give a brief explanation of the part they played in the general issue of state rights vs. centralization.
 1. The First Bank of the United States
 2. The Tariff
 3. The Louisiana Purchase
 4. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
 5. The Hartford Convention

IV. *The Problems of Foreign Relations.* (Two weeks)

A. Pupil activities.

Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with the above topic.

* In the April to October 1946 issues of THE SOCIAL STUDIES there appeared a seven-unit course outline in American history. Immediately afterward, both the author and the editor received a number of inquiries regarding the availability of the course in booklet or pamphlet form. The continued inquiries seem to make it advisable to revise the course and to bring it up-to-date. It will be published in three issues and will also be available in booklet form.

Units I-III of the outline appeared in the March, 1950, issue of THE SOCIAL STUDIES.

Answer the following questions:

1. What were some of the conditions in France that caused its people to revolt?
2. Why were the people of the United States sympathetic to the cause of the French Revolution?
3. Who was "Citizen Genet"?
4. What were our chief grievances against England?
5. What were the terms of Jay's Treaty of 1795? Why was it unpopular? What were its good points?
6. What important message was contained in Washington's Farewell Address? How did it affect our future foreign policy?
7. What was the XYZ affair?
8. What were the Alien and Sedition Acts?
9. Describe the election of Thomas Jefferson.
10. Explain the reasons for the passage of the Embargo Act of 1809? How did the country react to the reasons? Why?
11. What were the causes of the War of 1812?
12. Give the main provisions of the Treaty of Ghent?
13. What was the Monroe Doctrine? How have we lived up to its original intent? What problems does it place before us today?

V. *The Problems of Agrarianism vs. Mercantilism.* (One week)

A. Pupil activities.

Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with the topic.

Answer the following questions:

1. Define "agrarianism" and "mercantilism."
2. Give a brief description of the life and character of Andrew Jackson.
3. What part did the tariff and the Second Bank of the United States play in Jackson's administration?
4. Give the causes of the Panic of 1837.
5. Explain the importance of the Webster-Hayne debates.
6. Trace the development of political parties from Washington to Jackson.

VI. *The Problem of Territorial Expansion and its Effect Upon National Development.* (Two weeks)

A. Pupil activities.

Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with the above topic.

Answer the following questions:

1. What basic policies did the Ordinance of 1787 establish regarding the addition of new territories to the Union?
2. What was the effect of frontier life upon the political, social, and economic development of our country?
3. How did we acquire Florida?
4. What social and economic issue was always tied up with the question of admitting a new state into the union?
5. Explain the importance of the more liberal land policy adopted by Congress in 1800 and in 1820.
6. Describe the acquisition of Texas.
7. List the causes of the Mexican War.
8. List and discuss the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
9. List and give a brief descriptive statement of the outstanding personalities connected with the Mexican War.

VII. *Home and Library Work.*

A. Write a brief summary, in essay or outline form, on each of the topics listed below.

1. The Foreign Policy of George Washington
2. The Impressment of Seamen
3. The Chesapeake Affair
4. The Land Policy of the Federal Government
5. The Lewis and Clark Expedition
6. The Coming of the Railroads
7. Early Canals
8. The Industrial Revolution in America
9. Education and Literature before the Civil War
10. Socialism in the United States before the Civil War
11. The Oregon Question
12. Great Inventors and their Contributions before the Civil War
13. Immigration before the Civil War

B. Write a brief biographical sketch of the persons listed below. Cover primarily those phases of their lives that have a direct relationship to American social, political, or economic development:

1. Henry Clay

2. James Madison
 3. Andrew Jackson
 4. James Monroe
 5. Alexander Hamilton
 6. John Marshall
 7. Daniel Webster
 8. James Polk
 9. William Henry Harrison
- C. Draw maps showing the following:
1. The United States before and after the Louisiana Purchase.
 2. The United States before and after the Mexican War.
- D. Read at least one book of American fiction or on the life of a famous American. (See list of books at end of course outline)

Unit V. Slavery and the Civil War. (Six weeks)

Introduction. The Civil War was more than a conflict between the North and the South. The issues involved more than states' rights vs. centralization, keeping the union intact, or freeing the slaves in the South. In its larger aspects, the struggle concerned all of mankind, for it was a trial to determine whether one part of the world could forever remain free while another remained slave. The conflict was more than a war. In its ultimate effects it constituted a revolution—a revolution in man's treatment of man and in the concept of democracy. As far as our own country was concerned, it brought with it the beginning of new social institutions. It initiated the development of a new economic system in the South. It liberated social and political forces that were to affect the history of the country for many years. As far as the rest of the world was concerned, it gave a new meaning to freedom, brotherhood, and the rights of man.

Its immediate effects were not all good. The freeing of the slaves at first was a hardship for the Negroes. They were uneducated and untrained for the freedom that was suddenly thrust upon them. They were unprepared for the liberties and responsibilities that went with citizenship. Some were taken advantage of and mistreated. Nearly all needed help and guidance.

War always leaves scars of bitterness, but it wasn't the war itself that left them in the South. Sherman's march through Georgia may have caused some, but not so many nor so deep, as were found to exist years later. There were

things that happened after Lee surrendered that were far more devastating to the unity and good will between the contestants than the war itself. They were the things done by the shortsightedness and vengefulness of the Northern peacemakers. They were the things done by the war profiteers and the political grafters. However, the South as well as the North had its "scalawags" and "carpetbaggers." The rise of the Ku Klux Klan and "Jim Crowism" was more than mere revenge.

"The evil that men do lives after them," but so does the good. Not all the peacemakers were of the carpetbagger and scalawag type. There were the "Abraham Lincolns" and the "Andrew Johnsons." Even though their will did not altogether prevail, it left its imprint. It served as the real binding force between the North and the South, in spite of the other forces to the contrary.

II. *Specific Understandings to be Derived.* (One week)

- A. An understanding of the inter-relationship between the social, political and economic factors that contributed to the continuance of slavery in a country that was dedicated to the principle that "all men are created equal."
- B. An understanding of the social and economic relationship that existed between the slaves and their Southern masters.
- C. An understanding of why the North was opposed to slavery.
- D. Pupil activities.

Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with the above topic. (See list of books at and their Southern masters.

Answer the following questions:

1. How did slavery originate in the New World?
2. Why was the South better suited for the development and growth of slavery than the North?
3. What provisions did the Constitution make regarding slave representation?
4. Under what conditions did the Negroes and "poor whites" live?
5. What privileges (social, economic, political) were denied to the Negro?
6. In what ways did the household slave fare better than the slave who worked

in the fields?

7. What is a Negro spiritual? What does it reveal about the Negro's philosophy of life at the time?
8. How did the South justify the institution of slavery?

III. *Specific Understandings to be Derived.* (Two weeks)

- A. An understanding of the difficulties that faced the leaders of our government in reconciling the differences that arose between the slave-holding and the non-slave-holding classes.
- B. A lasting understanding of the evils of slavery.
- C. Pupil activities.
Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with above topic.
Answer the following questions:
 1. Give the provisions of the Missouri Compromise of 1820.
 2. Give the provisions of the Compromise of 1850.
 3. In what way did the Kansas-Nebraska Bill affect the slavery issue?
 4. What was the Dred Scott Decision?
 5. Who were the abolitionists?
 6. Give a brief description of the role played by the following persons in connection with the slavery conflict:
 - (1) Daniel Webster
 - (2) Henry Clay
 - (3) John C. Calhoun
 - (4) John Brown
 - (5) Harriet Beecher Stowe
 - (6) David Wilmot
 - (7) Stephen A. Douglas
 - (8) Jefferson Davis
 - (9) William Seward
 7. What was the Underground Railway?
 8. List the Presidents of the United States between 1820-1860.
 9. Give the names of the political parties in existence at the time of the Compromise of 1850.
 10. Describe the importance of the Lincoln-Douglas debates.
 11. Why is slavery wrong? What is the difference between economic and political slavery?

IV. *Specific Understandings to be Derived.* (Two weeks)

- A. An understanding of the nature of the crisis caused by the secession of the southern states and of its effect on the future development of the country.
- B. An understanding of the life philosophy of Abraham Lincoln and of its influence on American life during and after the war.
- C. Pupil activities.

Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with the above topic.

Answer the following questions:

1. How did Lincoln's views of secession differ from those of President Buchanan?
2. Describe the following highlights of the war:
 - (1) The Firing on Fort Sumter
 - (2) Henry Clay
 - (3) The Battle of Antietam
 - (4) The Battle of Gettysburg
 - (5) The Battle of Vicksburg
 - (6) The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*
 - (7) Sherman's March Through Georgia
 - (8) The Fall of Richmond
3. Give a brief description of the roles played by the following persons during the course of the war:
 - (1) Abraham Lincoln
 - (2) Ulysses S. Grant
 - (3) Robert E. Lee
 - (4) Stonewall Jackson
 - (5) Jefferson Davis
 - (6) George McClellan
 - (7) William Sherman
 - (8) Clara Barton
4. Which side was better equipped to fight a long war? Why?
5. What was the Emancipation Proclamation?
6. Describe the social and economic conditions of the North and South during the war.
7. How did the North finance the war?
8. What notable accomplishments were made by women during the war?

V. *Specific Understandings to be Derived.* (One-two weeks)

- A. An appreciation of the practicability of Lincoln's idealism in dealing with the South and a realization that had his methods prevailed the country might have been spared the bitterness that followed the war.

- B. An understanding of the social and economic forces that conditioned the future development of the South and the Negro, and of their effect upon the whole nation.

C. Pupil activities.

Read in your textbooks the pages dealing with the above topic.

Answer the following questions:

1. In what ways did the Reconstruction plan of Congress differ from those of Lincoln and Johnson?
2. What loss did the country suffer by Lincoln's assassination?
3. Describe the work of the Freedman's Bureau.
4. What were the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment regarding citizenship, voting, and holding office in the federal government?
5. Describe the series of incidents that led to the impeachment of Andrew Johnson.
6. In what way did the failure to convict Johnson serve the best interests of the country?
7. Describe briefly the action taken by the South in connection with the following:
 - (1) Black Codes
 - (2) Ku Klux Klan
 - (3) Voting
8. Who were the "carpet baggers" and the "scalawags"?
9. Explain the phrase "The Solid South."
10. How did the South change industrially as a result of the Civil War?

VI. Home and Library Work.

- A. Write a brief summary on the following topics: (Follow same procedure as before.)

1. The Development of the Republican Party
2. Social Life before and during the Civil War
3. Education before and during the Civil War
4. Newspapers before and during the Civil War

- B. Write a 500 word biographical sketch of any one of the persons studied in connection with this unit.

- C. Draw a map showing the following:

1. The Slave States
2. The Free States
3. Important Cities and Bodies of Water

- D. Read a book—fiction or biography—on the life and times of one of the men studied in this unit. (See list of books at end of course outline)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR ENTIRE COURSE OUTLINE TEXTBOOKS

Each teacher must know his own students in order to select the books best suited for them. The important considerations in choosing a textbook are contents covered, style, maturity of treatment, vocabulary difficulty, illustrations, and aids to learning. Since there are many textbooks which meet these qualifications in varying degree no one textbook is recommended. The list given below is purely suggestive.

Textbooks.

- Barker, Eugene C., and Henry S. Commager, *Our Nation*. Row-Peterson, 1942, New York.
- Beard, Charles A. and William C. Bagley, *The History of the American People*. Macmillan, 1942.
- Bining, Arthur C., Martin, A. E., and Wolf, Morris, *This Our Nation: From Colony to World Leader*. Newson, 1950.
- Faulkner, Harold U., and Kepner, Tyler, *America, Its History and People*. Harper, 1947.
- Forman, S. E., *Advanced American History*. Appleton-Century, 1936.
- Graeff, Arthur, *History of Pennsylvania*, Winston, 1946.
- Guiteau, William B., *The History of The United States*. Houghton Mifflin, 1946.
- McGuire, Edna, and Postwood, Thomas B., *The Rise of Our Free Nation*. Macmillan, 1948.
- Muzzey, David S., *A History of Our Country*. Ginn, 1948.
- Rovner, Maurice A. and Fenton, J. Alexis, *Visualized American History*. College Entrance Book, 1948.
- West, Ruth, and Willis M. West, *The Story of Our Country*. Allyn and Bacon, 1946.
- Wilson, Howard E. and Lamb, Wallace E., *American History*. American, 1947.
- Wirth, Fremont P., *The Development of America*. American, 1948.
- Wirth, Fremont P., *United States History*. American, 1949.

REFERENCE BOOKS

The number of reference books that can be used with the Unit Course Outlines in American

History is virtually limitless. The list below represents standard works that might be considered basic.

Reference Books.

- Adamic, Louis, *From Many Lands*. Harpers, 1940.
- Bartlett, Ruhl, J., *The Record of American Diplomacy*. Knopf, 1947.
- Beals, Carleton, *The Coming Struggle for Latin America*. Lippincott, 1938.
- Beard, Charles A., *The Republic*. Viking, 1943.
- Beard, Charles A., and Mary R., *The Rise of American Civilization*. Macmillan, 1930.
- Beard, Charles A., and Mary R. Beard, *A Basic History of the United States*. New Home Library, 1944.
- Beck, James M., *The Constitution of the United States*. Doran, 1924.
- Becker, Carl, *The Declaration of Independence. A study of the history of political ideals*. Harcourt, 1922.
- Bemis, Samuel F., *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. Holt, 1942.
- Bogart, E. L., and Kemmerer, D. L., *Economic History of the American People*. Longmans, 1942.
- Boodish, H. M., *Our Industrial Age*. McGraw-Hill, 1949.
- Calverton, V. F., *The Awakening of America*. John Day, 1939.
- Channing, Edward E., *History of the United States*. 6 Vols., Macmillan, 1930.
- Commons, John R., et al., *History of Labor in the United States*. 4 Vols., Macmillan, 1918-1935.
- Elliot, Edward, *Biographical Story of the Constitution*. Putnam, 1910.
- Faulkner, Harold U., and Starr, Mark, *Labor in America*. Harpers, 1944.
- Fisher, L., *You and the United Nations*. Children's Press, 1947.
- Gabriel, Ralph Henry (Editor), *The Pageant of America Series*. 15 Vols., Yale University Press, 1925-1929.
- Gunther, John, *Inside U. S. A.* Harpers, 1947.
- Hart, A. N. (editor), *The American Nation: A History*. 36 Vols., Harpers, 1904-1918.
- Hayek, F. Von A., *The Royal Road to Serfdom*. University of Chicago Press, 1944.
- Inman, Samuel Guy, and Castaneda, G. E., *A History of Latin America for Schools*. Macmillan, 1944.

Johnson, Alan (Editor), *The Chronicles of America Series*. 50 Vols., Yale University Press, 1918-1921.

Johnson, C. E., *The Negro in American Civilization*. Henry Holt, 1930.

Kemmerer, E., *The A. B. C. of the Federal Reserve System*. Princeton University Press, 1938.

Lipmann, Walter, *United States Foreign Policy*. Little Brown, 1943.

McMaster, John B., *History of the People of the United States*. 8 Vols., Appleton, 1883-1913.

Moody, John, *The Railroad Builders*. Yale University Press, 1921.

Pattee, Fred L., *History of American Literature*. Century, 1915.

Rugg, Harold, *Culture and Education in America*. Harcourt, 1931.

Young, Louise M., and Alderfer, Harold F.: *Your State and Local Government*. Telegraph Press, 1946.

Wertenbaker, Thomas J., *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture*. New York University Press, 1942.

BIOGRAPHY AND FICTION

Every child has a hero and every hero is a part of history. There is no better way to enrich the study of history than through the reading of the life histories of the men and women who helped to make it. The list of books below represents only a small sampling of the books available. For a more comprehensive listing the following sources are suggested:

Ames, William Homer, *Selected List of Books Dealing with American Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*. J. Herman Bosler Memorial Library, Carlisle, Pa., 1926.

Baker, Ernest A., *A Guide To Historical Fiction*. Macmillan, 1914. (Lists fiction books by dates and historical divisions)

Logasa, Hannah, *Historical Fiction and Other Reading References for Classes in Junior and Senior High Schools*. McKinley, 1949. (Lists fiction, biography and narrative accounts by dates and historical divisions)

The Gold Star List of American Fiction. 1821-1928. Syracuse Library, Syracuse, New York.

Adams, James T., *American Tragedy*. Scribner, 1934.

Adams, James T., *The Living Jefferson*. Scribner, 1936.

- Allen, F. L., *The Lords of Creation*. Harper, 1935.
- Axelrad, Jacob, *Patrick Henry: The Voice of Freedom*. Random House, 1947.
- Berrét, S. V., *John Brown's Body*. Doubleday Doran, 1927.
- Chinard, Gilbert, *Honest John Adams*. Little Brown, 1933.
- Cooper, J. F., *Last of the Mohicans*. Scribner, 1919.
- Dodd, W. E., *Woodrow Wilson and His Work*. Doubleday, 1920.
- Eaton, Jeannette, *Leader by Destiny*. Harcourt Brace, 1938. (Concerns life of George Washington)
- Eaton, Jeanette, *Young Lafayette*. Houghton Mifflin, 1923.
- Eckenrode, H. J., *Jefferson Davis, President of the South*. Macmillan, 1923.
- Ford, H. J., *Woodrow Wilson, The Man and His Work*. Appleton, 1916.
- Guedalla, Philip, *Fathers of the Revolution*. Putnam, 1926.
- Harlow, R. V. *Samuel Adams, Promoter of the American Revolution*. Holt, 1923.
- Hart, W. S. A., *A Lighter of Flames*. Crowell, 1923. (Patrick Henry)
- Howland, Louis, *Stephen A. Douglas*. Scribner, 1920.
- Johnson, C. O., *Borah of Idaho*. Longmans, Green, 1936.
- Lewis, Sinclair, *Main Street*. Grossett, 1933.
- Lewis, Sinclair, *It Can't Happen Here*. Doubleday Doran, 1935.
- Loth, David, *Alexander Hamilton*. Carrick and Evans, 1939.
- McElroy, R. M., *Grover Cleveland, the Man and the Statesman*. Harpers, 1923.
- Mitchell, Margaret, *Gone With The Wind*. Macmillan, 1936.
- Morrow, Mrs. H. M. W., *With Malice Toward None*. Morrow, 1928.
- Moses, Belle, *John Marshall*. Appleton-Century, 1933.
- Nevins, Allan, *Grover Cleveland: a Study of Courage*. Dodd, Mead, 1933.
- Nevins, Allan, *John D. Rockefeller. The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*. Scribner, 1940.
- Nicoloy, Helen, *Andrew Jackson, the Fighting President*. Century, 1929.
- Perkins, Frances, *The Roosevelt I Knew*. Viking, 1946.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, *Autobiography*. Macmillan, 1913.
- Sandburg, Carl, *Abe Lincoln Grows Up*. Harcourt, Brace, 1928.
- Sandburg, Carl, *Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years*. Harcourt, Brace, 1926.
- Steffens, Lincoln, *Autobiography*. Harcourt Brace, 1931.
- Stowe, Mrs. H. B., *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. (Various editions)

VISUAL AIDS

Films

The films listed below are chiefly historical. Information about films, dealing with special topics or issues relating to problems of our democracy, can be obtained by referring to standard film guides. The listing below is alphabetical and is arranged in the following order: title, producer or distributor (abbreviated), date (when given), time (min.), and whether it is sound (sd.) or silent (si.). The full names and addresses of the producers or distributors are given at the end of the list. In some cases the films may be obtained from local film libraries or distributors.

- Benjamin Franklin's Albany Plan* (Post, 1947, 9 min., sd.).
Dramatization of the Albany Congress of 1854.
- Blue and the Gray* (TFC, 10 min., sd.).
Describes historical spots and monuments commemorating battles of the Civil War.
- Columbus* (Yale, 1923, 60 min., si.).
Story of Columbus.
- Discovery and Exploration* (EBF, 1942, 11 min., sd.).
Describes with animated drawings exploration of North America.
- Dixie* (Yale, 1924, 45 min., si.).
Describes a Southern family and its problems during the Civil War.
- Early Settlers of New England* (EBF, 1940, 11 min., sd.).
Describes the people that settled in New England, their problems and their backgrounds.
- Eighteenth Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia* (Eastman, 44 min., sd., 4 reels).
Deals with home and community life.

Eve of the Revolution (Yale, 1924, 45 min., si.).
Describes early episodes prior to the revolution, such as the "Stamp Act" and "The Boston Massacre."

Headlines of the Century (TFC, 50 min., sd.).
Films taken from newsreels. Describes events and personages.

Part I: 1897-1905

Part II: 1905-1910

Part III: 1910-1923

Part IV: 1923-1932

Part V: 1928 to the nomination of F. D. R.

Historic New England (Simmel, 1947, 21 min., sd., color).

Historic account of New England States.

Land of Liberty (TFC, 80 min., sd.).

Deals with the struggle for American liberties: Reel I, Colonial period; Reel II, 1805-1860; Reel III, 1860-1890; Reel IV, 1890-1938.

Living in a Metropolis (Greater New York, VWF, 20 min., sd.).

Describes life in a great city.

Mr. President (official, 1940, 10 min., sd., and si.).

Scenes and events from McKinley to third inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Our Declaration of Independence (Post, 1941, 20 min., sd.).

Dramatization of the signing and of the events leading up to the Declaration of Independence.

Our Louisiana Purchase (Post, 1941, 20 min., sd.).

Deals with the story of the purchase of this vast territory.

Planters of Colonial Virginia (EBF, 1940, 11 min., sd.).

Deals with colonial life on a plantation.

Productivity-Key to Plenty (EBF, 1949, 20 min.).

Deals with production and consumption in the United States.

Remember the Alamo (Eastin, 39 min., sd.).

Deals with independence of Texas and its acquisition by the United States.

Revolution in the South (Calvin, 25 min., free).
Describes industrial development of section of the South.

Strange Glory (TFC, 11 min., sd.).

Concerns the controversy of the authorship of the Civil War Tennessee Plan.

Swedes in America (Castle, 1945, 19 min., sd.).
Describes Americans of Swedish descent. Narrated by Ingrid Bergman.

Tale of Two Cities (Sig. Corp., 20 min., free).
Army film showing bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Territorial Expansion of the United States from 1783 to 1853 (Int. Geog., 1938, 22 min., sd.).
Deals with growth of United States. Uses animated maps.

Territorial Possessions of the United States (Int. Geog., 1938, 22 min., sd.).

Explains how United States possessions were obtained.

Two Decades of History (TFC, 22 min., sd.).
United States History 1927 through 1947.

United States (Bis., 1946, 45 min. sd.).
History of United States from the Pilgrims to present. Traces growth of United States as a world power.

Vincennes (Yale, 1923, 45 min., sd.).

Deals with the frontier during the time the colonies were fighting for freedom.

Westward Movement (EBF, 11 min., sd.).

Deals with expansion period 1790-1890. Uses animation.

Winning Our Independence (TFC, 1948, 34 min., sd.).

Adapted from the film "The Howards of Virginia."

Yorktown (Yale, 1924, 45 min., si.).

Covers significant period of the war for Independence leading to surrender of Cornwallis.

FILM PUBLISHERS AND DISTRIBUTORS
BIS—British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Calvin—Calvin Company, Kansas City, Missouri.

EBF—Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

Eastman—Eastman Kodak Co., Informational Films Division, 343 State Street, Rochester 4, N. Y.

Eastin—Eastin Pictures Company, P.O. Box 598, Davenport, Iowa.

Int. Geog.—International Geographic Pictures, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

Official—Official Films, Inc., 25 W. 45th Street,
New York 19, N. Y.

Post—Post Pictures Corporation, 115 W. 45th
Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Sig. Corp—Signal Corps, Film Libraries, Gov-
ernors Island, New York.

Simmel—Simmel-Meservey, 321 S. Beverly
Drive, Beverly Hills, California.

TFC—Teaching Film Custodians, Inc., 25 W.
43rd Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Yale—Yale University Press Film Service, 386
Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

The Teachers' Page

H. M. BOODISH

Chairman, Social Studies Department, Dobbins Vocational-Technical School, Philadelphia

The term "social studies" as it relates to teaching in secondary schools generally includes the subjects of history, geography, civics, economics, and problems of democracy. The old educational concept regarding these subjects was that by acquiring a certain amount of knowledge about the history of the world, one's country, and one's government and economic system, one would by virtue of that knowledge be a better citizen. As our economic society became more complex and interdependent, and as democratic rights and privileges began to be extended to a greater and greater proportion of the population, it came to be recognized that knowledge alone was insufficient to achieve the desired goals implied in the term effective citizenship. It was felt that along with knowledge it was both desirable and necessary for the individual to have an understanding of the inter-relationship between events and between events and people. For a long time, therefore, one of the ideals of education was "to teach the student to think." This ideal received a considerable degree of impetus from the old school of faculty psychology, to the point that almost every subject given in our schools, from Latin and Greek to geometry and history, had as its main purpose the training of the mind to think.

More recently, under the impetus of the newer findings in the field of psychology and its related science, psychoanalysis, the whole concept of mind and thinking has been undergoing change. The emphasis of education is no longer on intellectual training alone. The total personality of the individual, his emotional structure and the integrative processes are now being placed under the education microscope. The key words today in learning and teaching, as a result of this psychological influence on education are:

"total personality," "individual needs," "adjustment," "integration," "emotions," and "mental health."

How does social studies teaching fit in with these relatively new concepts? To what extent should a teacher of history, civics, geography, or problems of democracy, be concerned with individual needs, mental health, and the emotional stability of his students? Learning in terms of educational psychology means change. The desirable products of learning are knowledge, skills, understandings (relationship between cause and effect), adaptability, confidence in one's self, and patterns of behavior and thinking, all of which spell functional citizenship.

The latter term can no longer be limited to registering and voting at elections. A functional citizen is one who functions well in all the various roles he fulfills as a human being in a democracy. Every individual is simultaneously or in succession a child, a brother or a sister, a parent, a great grandparent, an in-law, a friend, a student or a teacher, an employer or an employee, as well as a citizen of a neighborhood, a community, a state, a nation, and the world. Education (part of which begins at home and continues to take place there and in the world at large) has the responsibility of training the individual to live all his varied roles in a way that is self satisfying to him, as well as to the people with whom he comes into contact and to the society in which he lives.

In a sense, the individual is like a jigsaw puzzle—all the various parts put together making up the total personality. However, it would be a mistake to think that we could fashion each part separately without having in mind the whole. Thus in education, we can-

not emphasize each separate role of the individual without taking into consideration the total personality into which one of the roles is to be fitted.

Again, the question is, in what way does the teaching of social studies fit into this concept of education?

An interesting piece of work that bears on one aspect of this question is a recently prepared topical outline in social studies of the Trade and Industrial Education Service, Ohio State University.¹

The following excerpt from the preface is significant:

"... adjustment of trade school graduates to their job and fellow workers is just as important, if not more so, than the acquisition of occupational skills in our trade and industrial education training. Furthermore, it is realized that a highly skilled worker is indeed poorly equipped if he is anti-social, and does not discharge his obligations as a citizen. This fact was pointed out in a study of 4375 discharged workers. It was found that positions were lost more frequently because of bad social attitudes than through lack of skill and technical knowledge."

Another study reported that out of 992 employees, "personality traits were given first rank among six major factors considered important in training workers."

The topical outline consists of fifteen units (appropriate questions and bibliography) covering the following areas: personality, getting

along with people, attitude towards work, personal habits and attitudes in success, undesirable personal habits and attitudes, handling of money, social security, applying for a job, selecting an occupation, habit formation, selling yourself, taxes, wage hours law, insurance and employer-employee relations.

Emphasizing personality factors in occupational adjustment is only one aspect of good human relations. The social studies must be concerned with personality development as it relates to all inter-personal and inter-group relations. Subject matter is only part of the means for achieving these goals. Much more important, during the formative years of childhood and youth, are the personal interactions the individual student has with all the people he comes in contact. The social studies teacher thus plays a dual function in the life of the student: (1) he represents one aspect of society in the authoritarian role; (2) he aids the student in interpreting the social world in which he lives. How well the teacher functions in both these roles determines, in great measure, how well the student "learns" the essentials of good citizenship. Teaching about historical events, imparting knowledge, stimulating the student to think, developing wholesome attitudes and patterns of thinking are all a part of teaching the social studies.

¹ *Topical Outline and Assignment Sheets for Units of Instruction in Social and Civic Adjustment*. Division of Vocational Education, State Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio.

Visual and Other Aids

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

At the Museum of Modern Art, New York, British Information Services presented a group of new films which will become available for distribution in the United States during 1950. The program consisted of *This Is Britain*, No. 38, *His Fighting Chance* (commentary by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt), *Farnborough Air Show*, *Harvest from the Wilderness* (J. Arthur Rank's

"This Modern Age" series), *Wonders of the Deep*, *Local Government* and *Daybreak in Udi*. *Harnessing the Hills*. 16 mm. sound. 15 minutes. Rental \$2.50. Sale \$47.50.

This film tells the story of water power harnessed to serve the community. The huge hydroelectric scheme will take many years to complete, but already many dams, reservoirs and

generating stations are ready for use.

Stills of this film are available.

General Election. 2 reels. Rental \$2.50.

Traces the general procedure of an election in Britain. Each candidate goes through the required formalities of being proposed and seconded and each plans his campaign with his agent. The candidate travels through his district addressing his constituents and also makes use of free postage to each voter. Posters and pamphlets are printed, meetings are held, Polling Day plans are drawn up. What actually happens on Polling Day, the methods of voting, the precautions for secrecy, the counting of votes and the final declaration of the result are all shown in detail.

General Election was made at Kettering during the election of 1945 and highlights various sections of the public being coaxed and cajoled into voting for the right man. During the campaign they listen and observe. On Polling Day they vote as they please.

An 18-page booklet called *Parliamentary Electoral Procedure in Britain* can be used with advantage by those who see the film.

Something to Cheer About. Sound. Running time: 14 minutes. Black-and-white. Rental free.

This film on tooth care and the causes of decay shows things that should interest science, history and chemistry classes, as well as hygiene teachers. The food of the caveman, the discovery and revelations of the microscope, the chemistry of the mouth, and diet, are some of the things discussed.

Brandon Films, Inc.

1600 Broadway

New York 19, N. Y.

The Roosevelt Story. 16 mm. sound film.

This picture is an authentic screen story of the life and times of the late President Roosevelt and covers over forty of the most critical years of this nation's history.

A study guide prepared by Professor Allan Nevins is supplied free of charge with each rental of the film.

Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc.

1150 Wilmette Avenue

Wilmette, Illinois

Benjamin Franklin.

Thomas Jefferson.

Washington Irving.

James Fenimore Cooper.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Each of these two-reel 16 mm. sound subjects may be rented from libraries or from E.B.F.'s six rental libraries at \$5.00 for from one to three days' use and may be purchased at \$76.50 each.

Each film presents an American literary personality, showing the incidents in his life which helped shape what he wrote.

Authentic biographical presentation is assured by the collaboration of authorities on each subject. Carl Van Doren was the collaborator for *Benjamin Franklin*, Julian Parks Boyd for *Thomas Jefferson*, Leon Howard for *Washington Irving*, Robert E. Spiller for *James Fenimore Cooper* and Howard M. Jones for *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*.

These pictures are especially suitable for junior and senior high school classes.

Official Films, Inc.

25 W. 45th Street

New York 19, N. Y.

New *Official Film Catalog* available on request.

The listings include educational films for all grades, opera and concert films, sport subjects, adventure films, cartoons, community sings, westerns, documentary, historic and travel films. Many of the films are also made in Spanish and Portuguese versions.

Athena Films, Inc.

165 West 46th Street

New York 19, N. Y.

The Quiet One. 16 mm. Running time: 67 minutes. Selling price \$335.00 per print.

This film is the story of the rehabilitation of a neglected and rejected child.

PUBLICATIONS

Planning Films for Schools. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1949. 50 cents

This is the final report of the Commission on Motion Pictures, prepared by Dr. Mark A. May, Director of the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, Chairman of the Commission. The Report reviews a five-year program of planning films for schools carried on by the Commission under a five-year grant of funds from the Motion Picture Association of America, Eric Johnston, President.

Setting Up Your Audio-Visual Program. A Handbook for Principals. Prepared by the Audio-Visual Education Association of California. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1949. Illustrated. \$1.00.

In the form of a catechism, this handbook presents three phases of the audio-visual program: its organization, equipment, and in-service teacher education. Illustrations include photographs and cartoons.

Audio-Visual Materials for the Wisconsin Social Studies Program. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin No. 14, Publication No. 2. August 1949. Pp. 48.

This list of films, which is arranged according to subject matter within twelve grades and kindergarten, provides a ready reference for

the busy teacher.

See and Hear: National Magazine of Sight and Sound in Education.

The issue of April, 1948, Vol. 4, No. 8 is devoted to a special report: Film Production in U. S. Colleges and Universities. In these articles sixteen colleges and universities report their experiences with the 16 mm. film and the filmstrip both silent and with sound.

The May and June issue contains an audio-visual progress report.

In the September, 1949, number, the list of audio-visual materials includes films for the classroom, the forum and the community.

The October, 1949, number reports on 600 available films on health and welfare. Conservation of human resources is one of its aims.

News and Comment

LEONARD B. IRWIN

Principal, High School, Haddon Heights, New Jersey

NEW OBJECTIVES IN TEACHING WORLD HISTORY

The new yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies is entitled *Improving the Teaching of World History*. The first chapter, by Dr. Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Michigan, is devoted to a re-assessment of the objectives of a world history course, and was printed in the February number of the *NEA Journal*. World history, as Dr. Wesley points out, is the most common high school history course next to American history, but the problems involved in teaching it successfully are very great. Obviously the chief difficulty is that of determining what shall be taught, since the range of material is theoretically as great as the sum of all man's past and present activities. Hence the first problem to be solved must be one of defining purpose and objectives. Then the material covered can be selected for its appropriateness in reaching these objectives. Dr. Wesley's article devotes itself to outlining a series of purposes which may properly be the aims of a high school world history course under present-day conditions.

The first purpose he proposes is to provide an overview of the contemporary world. Conditions

have changed so greatly in the past decade or two that traditional approaches to an understanding of world affairs are no longer tenable. For example, the world can no longer be regarded as an expansion of Europe; western culture no longer wholly dominates the activities of all civilized peoples. Probably there is no single theme which can be used as a center of explanation for the modern world. What is needed is a knowledge of the distribution of population and resources, the basic economic processes which sustain life, and the competing ideologies, prejudices and interests which contribute to the tensions in the world today. A second purpose, closely related to the first, is to secure an introduction to world problems. There seems to be little value in including in a general world history course materials from the events of the past which do not help throw light directly on the problems of today and tomorrow.

The third purpose listed by Dr. Wesley is to provide recognition that culture is international; that is, it should be recognized that world understanding cannot be brought about by over-emphasis on the cultural contributions of Europe and America. There are many fine

and valuable things in the religions, arts, literature, philosophy and scientific achievements of other peoples and our own pupils should be made aware of them; for they will unquestionably be an important part of any world culture that may eventually develop.

A fourth purpose is the ability to develop and apply generalizations. Human history is not a series of spontaneous and unique occurrences; it is rather an endless application of generalizations to specific situations. "To the incisive student of history, there can be no major surprises." One of the greatest values of history-teaching lies in the opportunity to develop the ability to draw valid generalizations from observed facts. These generalizations in turn provide a means of interpreting new conditions.

This leads directly to a fifth purpose of a world history course—the understanding of tomorrow's world. Much of what will happen can be correctly foretold today on the basis of historical principles. "World history which correctly interprets the past and the present inevitably forecasts the general shape of future developments." This in turn means not only preparation for the future but an opportunity to act so as to help bring prophecy into reality. This, says Dr. Wesley, may prove to be the greatest achievement of the teaching of world history.

AN ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL POLITICS

Gerald W. Johnson presented an excellent example of practical political analysis in an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* for February. It was entitled "Truman's Third Term," and it offered a coldly logical explanation for the continued dominance of the Democratic Party and its leader, President Truman. Mr. Johnson began by assuming that there are only three possible reasons why a President should not be re-elected. These are: first, that he has made such bad blunders that the country has suffered seriously; second, that there is available a demonstrably better man; and third, that his political philosophy is offensive to the majority of voters. It is certainly difficult to conceive of any other likely basis for defeat; therefore the opposition must convince the public that one or more of these conditions is true in a given case. In our present political situation, Mr. Johnson says, the Republican Party has claimed all of

these things against Mr. Truman but has failed to prove any of them to the satisfaction of the majority. Hence he was elected in 1948 and presumably will be re-elected in 1952 unless the Republicans can prove a clear case against him on one of the three points.

So far as the first point goes, the general public has not yet been convinced that the country is on the brink of disaster due to any blunders by Truman or his party. We are going through a period of unprecedented general prosperity. The majority of people are economically better off than they have ever been before. Warnings against such things as deficit financing, the break-down of venture capital, the dangers of government subsidies and welfare socialism do not worry the average voter because they are all vague threats of something in the future; he looks at the present and is not convinced that it is bad.

While he is willing to admit that the international situation is far from ideal, the average voter sees no reason to attribute it particularly to any faults of Mr. Truman or the Democrats. He blames it on Stalin and has been given no reason to believe that the Republicans have a program that will relieve the tension. In other words, while the Republicans have criticized Truman for all kinds of things which he has or has not done, they have not proved to the country that he has made any vital blunders.

On the second point Mr. Johnson says that the Republicans have criticized Truman for personal actions which do not seem too bad to a good many people. When he proposed to send Chief Justice Vinson to Russia to talk with Stalin, it seemed like a good idea to a lot of common folks although it deeply offended diplomatic protocol. When he sharply criticized some of the "high brass" for what he considered their opposition to defense unification, the average G. I. was not shocked; he rather enjoyed it. Even the criticisms of Truman for over-zealous loyalty to personal friends have not found very strong support among the people; they have seen no evidence of the kind of graft that marked Harding's administration. As a matter of fact, those few men in the government who have been proven dishonest have not been friends of the President. Nor have the Republicans been able to produce a candidate who was

demonstrably superior to Truman. The latter's faults seem to be those which are common to most people, and the Republicans so far have not come up with a man whom the people could feel was so clearly superior as to justify a change.

As to Truman's "Fair Deal" policies being offensive to the majority, this is certainly not the case as yet. His welfare program is in line with the popular feeling that the government exists to serve the people and make them happier and more prosperous. Only when or if its burden becomes too onerous are the mass of voters likely to turn against it.

Mr. Johnson holds that the failure of the Republican Party lies in its inability to concentrate on proving completely one of the three basic premises. It criticizes, it promises, but it does not convince. Unquestionably Truman has made many blunders and very possibly he is leading the country down a dangerous path. But until his opponents can convince the voters of these things and show them a man who is an obviously greater one, they cannot unseat the party in power. Truman's case is on a parallel with that of Monroe, who was successful because he had no worthwhile opposition, says Mr. Johnson. "Truman has also survived, not because he has knocked the opposition cold, but because it has fallen flat on its face."

A READING LIST IN AMERICAN HISTORY

It can never be emphasized too much that a history teacher should know his subject as thoroughly as possible. No other qualities can take the place of this deep background knowledge and it cannot be gained solely from a few college courses. It must come from wide and carefully chosen personal reading continued constantly. Since a teacher's time for reading is limited, wise selection is obviously important. In the field of American history there is such a tremendous amount of written material that some kind of guidance is essential. Good graduate courses in history are usually valuable in this respect if they are not too narrow in scope and do not over-emphasize the monographs and scholarly studies which are primarily for specialists. The average American history teacher needs to be familiar with the best books on the broader fields and must rely on good reading guides for the purpose.

What appears to be an excellent list of this

sort appeared in the *Peabody Journal of Education* for January. It was prepared by Jack Allen of the George Peabody College for Teachers and it includes sixty-one titles. Practically all of them are familiar to historical students and the great majority have been written within the past fifteen years. The author of the list says that they were chosen for good writing, for recency, and for the thoroughness with which they covered the period or subject. There is no unnecessary duplication of topic in the list; each item fills a place of its own. Sets of several volumes have been excluded in favor of the more readable one-volume synthesis. It is impossible to summarize the contents of as brief or well-chosen a list as this but there is no question that any teacher who has read carefully the titles listed in it must have acquired a well-rounded background of information about American history.

NOTES

The spring meeting of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies will be held on April 21 and 22 in connection with Schoolmen's Week at the University of Pennsylvania. The general topic will be "The Theory and Practice of Basic Education in the Social Studies." Among the outstanding speakers who will participate in the program are Dr. Ralph W. Cordier of Indiana (Pa.) State Teachers College; Dr. D. G. B. Thompson, of Trinity College, who will speak at the Friday dinner meeting; and Dr. A. J. Brumbaugh, vice-president of the American Council on Education, who will address the Saturday luncheon meeting. The Saturday morning sessions will include on their programs Dr. James B. Ranck of Hood College, Dr. C. Leslie Cushman, Associate Superintendent of Philadelphia public schools, Dr. Lewis Paul Todd, and Dr. John P. Belniak. On Saturday afternoon there will be a bus excursion to Pennsburg Manor. Tickets for this trip are \$1.25 and for the luncheon and dinner \$2.00 each; they may be obtained by writing to H. Emory Wagner, Girard College, Philadelphia 21, Pa. General arrangements for the meeting are in charge of George I. Oeste of Germantown High School.

Possibly many American teachers are not aware of the annual summer schools at British universities for foreign students. Although the

deadline for this summer's reservations has passed, it is a matter worth mentioning since interested teachers may need to plan their budgets a year ahead. The cost is actually quite low, aside from the steamship fare. The charge for tuition, board and room for the six weeks' course is only \$160. The course at the University of London this summer is devoted to "The Arts in Britain Today," while that at the University of Nottingham is concerned with a study of "British Education." Courses are usually given at some half dozen universities throughout England. Credits are transferable to American universities and the opportunity to combine foreign travel with study at a bargain rate seems most inviting. Details of these annual schools can be obtained from the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

UNESCO has published the second annual volume of its handbook *Study Abroad* which lists nearly 22,000 opportunities for foreign study and research granted by over fifty nations. Both publicly and privately endowed fellowships and grants for the purpose are listed and described, so that persons in any country may know how to go about making application. The United States is credited with 5,096 of the awards. Copies of the handbook cost \$1.25 and may be obtained from the Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York City. A supplement will be issued this spring.

A new monthly magazine on world affairs made its appearance in December. Called *Facts International* (Box 268, Mamaroneck, N. Y.), it is published by Richard Haestier, formerly senior editor in the United Nations Department of Public Information. Its prospectus states that it has no political affiliation and obtains all its information from official United Nations sources. Its articles, devoted entirely to United Nations affairs, are well-written and within the range of interest of senior high school

students. As a matter of fact, portions of the magazine are purposely laid out to facilitate their use in student notebooks. It is not primarily a school periodical, however; it is directed at any reader who is interested in the activities of the United Nations and its agencies. The annual subscription price is \$3.50.

The C. I. O. has published two pamphlets giving the text of resolutions adopted at its 11th constitutional convention at Cleveland last fall. One includes resolutions on "Economics" and the other on "Education." Copies may be obtained from the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Publications Department, 718 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

The most valuable periodical source material on American foreign policy and affairs is the *Department of State Bulletin* which is published to give citizens authoritative and complete information on the subject. It appears weekly for an annual subscription of \$6.00 and may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. A free sample can be obtained from the Division of Publications of the Department of State, Washington 25.

Sixteen nations, including the United States, this winter signed an agreement sponsored by UNESCO to facilitate the duty-free transmission of educational audio-visual materials among them. It is expected that this agreement will greatly increase the ease with which each country can import and export films, charts, recordings, models and other cultural materials, and possibly a later arrangement will be made that will include publications of all sorts.

A pamphlet entitled *Three Major Developments in British Foreign Policy* may be obtained from the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. It describes the Western Union, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Council of Europe and gives the historical background of each.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

The American Constitution, Its Origins and Development. By Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948. Pp. xxx, 940. \$3.00.

Two professors at Wayne University have written an analysis of our form of government that deserves the attention of teachers of American or world history. Primarily the story of a charter that was drafted in 1787 for an agrarian economy—when 90 per cent of the people owned their own means of livelihood—and of its dynamic growth into an instrument of government able to cope with the problems of a highly complex urban society, this volume does not neglect the antecedents of the federal Constitution. Four chapters—more than a hundred pages—present the story of English and colonial origins, colonial government, the American Revolution, and our first experiments in government. The stories of the framing of the Constitution and of the struggle over its ratification are well told. Then more than 600 pages are devoted to the story of those changes and interpretations that have shaped our present government.

The organizations and style are commendable. An annotated bibliography, in essay form, runs to over twenty pages and is one of the most valuable features of the book. The index is especially complete and useful, and is supplemented by an index of court cases involving the interpretation or analysis of the Constitution. The extensive use of this volume by students below the college level would seem doubtful. It is, however, a tool that could be invaluable if kept handy on the high school teacher's desk.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State Teachers College
Cortland, New York

This Our Nation: From Colony to World Leader. By Arthur C. Bining, Asa E. Martin and Morris Wolf. New York: Newson and Company, 1950. Pp. 784. \$3.80.

Arthur C. Bining, well-known historian, teacher, and author of material on the teaching

of the social studies; Asa E. Martin, author of a popular college American history textbook; and Morris Wolf, teacher of secondary school students and leader of social studies conferences in the Middle Atlantic States—these are the capable collaborators of the new senior high school text in the Newson Social Studies Series.

The functional aspects of teaching American history are emphasized, particularly in the sections after the Civil War. The text not only gives the backgrounds of the history of the United States, but also emphasizes the place of our nation as a world leader. Attention is given to the Far East and to our neighbors in the Americas. Topics are selected on the basis of their bearing on present domestic and international problems.

The book is organized into seven units. The first three, from Discovery to Reconstruction, have a chronological presentation; Units Four to Six are essentially topical. Unit Seven is unique, containing eleven documents of American history that highlight the course of the development of American democracy.

Each unit is organized to give the social, economic and cultural phases of our history, as well as the political and military. Helpful biographical material on some leaders, especially business and industrial, is given. It seems that more biography might have been included, but probably necessary limitation on the size of the book has made this impossible.

Each chapter ends with a wealth of activity suggestions—bibliography (elementary and advanced), subjects for discussion, floor talks, things to make or draw, cartoons, things to write and library reports.

The illustrations and maps are a bit different than those found in other American history texts. The reviewer feels that they make a real contribution to the usefulness of the book.

Unquestionably *This Our Nation* merits a careful examination by teachers of United States history on the senior high school level.

Abington Township High School
Abington, Pennsylvania

IRA KREIDER

Album of American History. Volume IV: End of an Era. Editor-in-Chief, James Truslow Adams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. Pp. 384. \$7.50.

This volume, published shortly before the death of its distinguished editor, brings the *Album of American History* to a close with the outbreak of World War I, and the entrance of the United States upon a career of world leadership. Here are pictures of famous political leaders: the golden-voiced Bryan pleading for Free Silver; Teddy Roosevelt carrying a Big Stick; Woodrow Wilson and his New Freedom. One finds within its generous size a photographic record of major movements: Populism, Imperialism, Labor Organization. Here are illustrations of the Panama Canal, the heyday of the Muckrakers, our War with Spain. Bloody strikes and national catastrophes, social change and economic transition vie with unimportant but amusing trivia for the reader's attention.

In many respects this is the best of the four volumes. When pictures deal with events within, or close to, our own memories, the absence of adequate description or meaningful arrangement is perhaps not so serious. The value of this volume, and of the series, to the classroom teacher is considerable. It is, not, however, the type of historical material that, placed in the hands of pupils without plan or preparation, is likely to enhance real understanding.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State Teachers College
Cortland, New York

Geographic Approaches to Social Education.

Edited by Clyde F. Kohn. Nineteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1948. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1948. Pp. xv, 299. Cloth \$3.00; Paper \$2.50.

Geographic Approaches to Social Education, the 1948 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, is a symposium of the philosophy, the objectives, the tools of geographic learning, and the implications of each in curriculum construction as seen by twenty-four of the nation's leading geographers and educators. It clearly defines the place of geography within the group of disciplines which make up the social studies and is especially timely in

this period of curriculum revision inaugurated with the close of the war.

Part III, devoted to the tools for the achievement of goals of geography is of particular interest not only to geography teachers but to the teachers in the allied fields as well. Reading materials, globes, maps, pictures—still and motion—statistics, and the home community are presented with subtle suggestions concerning method for the use of each. The fine list of source materials compiled by George Miller and Cora P. Sletten will be especially appreciated by teachers in the field. The implications for curriculum construction from the primary level to and including the secondary level and teacher training courses, have been well presented by Thomas Barton, Clyde Kohn, H. O. Lanthrop, Henry J. Warman and Alfred H. Meyer. For the curriculum worker there is an impartial analysis of the core curriculum and the place of geography in such a curriculum.

It is rather surprising to find that each author was able to attain the same intimate, direct style. Each contribution contains a down-to-earth message for the teacher or group toward which it is directed. *Geographical Approaches* is the type of professional book which becomes a "must" not only for teachers in the social studies field but in teacher training and curriculum revision as well.

JOSEPHINE MOYER

State Teachers College
Kutztown, Pennsylvania

Teaching Adolescents in Secondary Schools.

By Harry N. Rivlin. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948. Pp. xii, 516. \$3.00.

Subtitled "The Principles of Effective Teaching in Junior and Senior High Schools," Doctor Rivlin's new text for college teacher training courses is likewise effective. It takes as its motif one of the oldest dicta of pedagogy, which, in this day of statistics and psychology, is still the most sound: "The new teacher cannot adopt any other teacher's methods. Instead, he must learn how to develop methods that best take advantage of his own particular abilities, the needs of his students, and the demands of the curriculum. Teachers must know when to adapt a suggestion as well as when to adopt one, and

they must know when to disregard a generally accepted teaching procedure as well as how to follow it." (p. vii).

No matter where one opens *Teaching Adolescents in Secondary Schools* he finds that Professor Rivlin (Chairman, Department of Education, Queens College, New York City) has put his finger on one of the basic perplexities which frequently intimidate the would-be teacher. This reviewer particularly admires the counsel given in Chapter VI, "Planning to Conduct a Class Lesson," Chapter IX, "Developing the Ability to Work and to Study Effectively," and Chapter VII, "Using the Question as an Aid to Learning."

Indeed the "down-to-earth" approach is most pronounced in Professor Rivlin's advice on developing ability to study. Here he debunks the time-honored rule-of-thumb "How to Study" technique and substitutes mere common sense for routine. Formerly, says Dr. Rivlin, the student "told to have fixed time and place for study, to work in a well-lighted, well-ventilated, and quiet room, where he has ready access to all necessary reference material" found himself both frustrated and incompetent in the face of natural, physical and environmental handicaps to the end that he was soon willing to throw in the sponge.

However, such rules and such frustration may not have been obligatory. He points out that ability to study is not a distinct ability to be "trained" by habituation in mental discipline. For example, he maintains: "Studying a part in a play, working with other students in constructing a model Greek temple, studying chapters in a history book to see how the distribution of natural resources has affected the development of our country" call forth entirely different abilities and states of mind not supplied by ready-made formulae. Thus: "Efficiency in study depends not only on the student's willingness to study and on his readiness to devote the necessary time but also on his ability to use effectively study procedures. Whether a student who is collecting clippings about recent developments in science will learn anything more than how to cut and paste is influenced largely by the way he selects the articles he will clip." (p. 274).

This, of course, is where the influence of the

teacher is indispensable. This is where his training must be broader than that supplied by memorization and imitation. Thus: "If teaching our young people how to study makes them students in the full sense of the word, it has achieved all that we may reasonably expect of this phase of instruction." (p. 292). A challenge to teacher training is inherent in Dr. Rivlin's central phrase.

Further chapters deal with the other side of the "study penny": "Making Learning Concrete" and "Improving the Permanence of Learning." Chapters XII, "Improving the Adolescent's Personal and Social Adjustment," and XIII, "Bringing the Extracurricular Activities into the Curriculum," are excellent and modern. Chapter V, "The Unit Plan of Teaching," however, this writer looks upon as not as adequate as the development in Burton or Goetting. Excellent situations are described, but it is thought that the mechanics (in this case a vital necessity for apprentices) are not so well outlined.

Nevertheless, *Teaching Adolescents in Secondary Schools* immediately takes its place among the best books for the instruction of teacher training enrollees. Superior questions and well-selected bibliographies accompany each chapter. Indeed, the completeness, as well as the internal logic, of Dr. Rivlin's manual renders it as one well calculated to be of great assistance to a teacher's college professor with some fifty or so heterogeneous Sophomores or Juniors whom he must somehow graduate into full-fledged guardians of the national culture.

Dr. Rivlin is insistent upon the quality of the teacher output. He warns that: "The kind of rich background which the teacher needs cannot be secured by the teacher who reads each night only as much as he thinks he needs for the next day. More than ever the teacher must himself be an educated person, with a scholarship that is ever fresh because it is being constantly renewed." (p. 216).

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

An Outline of Social Psychology. By Muzafer Sherif. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. Pp. xv, 479. \$4.00.

The important contributions to social psy-

chology made by Muzafer Sherif in a number of his earlier works are brought together in the present volume in a single unified presentation together with a considerable amount of new material. In addition, the author has attempted to give a systematic treatment of social psychology as he conceives it.

The first section of the book deals with the problem of motivation in social behavior and with the effects of deprivation of various needs at the human level, especial attention being given to the University of Minnesota starvation experiments. The second section is concerned with the formation of group norms and values and their role in determining the behavior of the individual. In the third section there is a chapter concerning the effects of advances of technology on peoples in remote areas, in which the author draws heavily on observations made in his native Turkey. In this section there is also a chapter dealing with behavior in critical situations. The concluding section consists of a single chapter on individual differences in social reactions.

Sherif considers that social psychology "deals with the experience and behavior of the individual in relation to social stimulus situations." These situations comprise interpersonal relationships and group interactions and their products such as language, institutions, and art forms, and, through their impact on the individual, determine his ultimate socialization.

The individual who is subjected to this process of socialization is not merely a passively yielding object easily molded by these forces but is a dynamic entity with many needs to be met and whose behavior is characterized by selectivity both in perception and response. The two chief determiners of this selectivity he holds to be motives, which he conventionally classifies as biogenic and sociogenic, and the individual's reference groups which largely determine the frames of reference comprising his ego values. As important factors in socialization he stresses the effect of group norms and deprivations of the individual's needs.

Teachers of social psychology have long been waiting for a comprehensive, systematic text in their field, but the present work is not the answer to that need. Certain topics such as leadership, cooperation and competition, and the

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J-curve hypothesis of conforming behavior are covered inadequately or not at all, while one wonders why some topics of lesser importance are treated too extensively, a case in point being the author's treatment of his own work on autokinesis. Furthermore, the chapters not only vary widely in style but the difficulty of not a few has proved too great for the average college student with but a year's work in psychology. However, as supplementary reading for the advanced undergraduate student, it is a very provocative and worthwhile book.

ALBERT E. CONWAY

Department of Psychology
Lafayette College
Easton, Pennsylvania

A Practical Handbook for School Counselors.

By Clifford E. Erickson. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948. Pp. 224. \$3.00.

In this era of the development of guidance and counseling in the elementary and secondary schools this *Handbook* is a practical guide in setting up and expanding such services.

From the first line of "What Are Guidance Services?" to the organization of the guidance program, the book is arranged in question and answer outline form. This plan does not prevent the author from including all the necessary details, and it helps very substantially in reducing a large body of material to a usable stage.

The questions at the end of the sections do much to clarify one's thinking on this subject as well as provide material for group discussion.

To one interested in this work, the section headings: Learning About Pupils, Interviewing and Counseling, Informational Services, The Staff of the Guidance Program, and Organizing the Guidance Program indicate the author gives an over-all picture of the problems encountered in this work. In the section dealing with "Learn-

ing About Pupils," there is a discussion of the role of tests and inventories, records and reports, educational guidance records for student use and case studies.

A well-selected bibliography is arranged at the end of each section.

ROSEINA C. GILLMAN

Frankford High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Sociology. By Emory S. Bogardus. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. xvi, 583. \$4.50.

In his most recent contribution to sociology, Dr. Bogardus has again drawn heavily on the material used in the five editions which have appeared under the title of his *Introduction to Sociology*.

However, in this, the third edition, the work has been further improved by the author's successful attempt to bring it up to date through reorganization of materials, reading references, and in terms of concepts and their current meanings to sociologists.

The first edition appeared in 1913 and in this latest edition attention is again centered on sociology as a study of social groups. Dr. Bogardus summarizes well his conception of the importance of this approach when he writes of the social group "as the center of human interaction, as the matrix of social processes, and social change, and as the realm within which personalities originate, develop, and mature."

As in his other editions, the social group interpretation is maintained consistently. More than ever before we are impressed with the role played by the group in shaping the personality of the individual and the culture patterns existing in our society. Those already familiar with the preceding editions will certainly profit from reading this latest edition as additions have been made, such as the chapter on social processes.

To give proper examination and credit in such a short review to this important work is impossible. However, the reviewer believes that it is an excellent text for any number of courses in sociology.

EDWARD M. BEARD

Department of Sociology
University of Miami
Miami, Florida

History of the United States. By Dwight L. Dumond, Edward E. Dale and Edgar B. Wesley. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1948. Pp. xvi, 847. Illustrated. \$3.20.

The historical profession has come to accept texts by any one of the authors of this volume as invaluable for college and secondary school courses in American history. When all three authors combine to produce one volume, the result is most gratifying.

The arrangement of material in this textbook is most unique. The whole period from 1607 to 1947 is divided into seven epochs, or major divisions, and in each epoch five major themes are treated. These themes are (1) Migrating and Settling, (2) Making a Living, (3) Living Together, (4) Building a Government, and (5) Rising among Nations. Thus, the plan of the book combines the advantages of the topical or thematic treatment of history with the simplicity of the chronological arrangement.

Following the recommendations of the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies, over half of the book is devoted to the history of the last 100 years, thus presenting "an overview of national development" with not too much emphasis on the colonial period. There is also a minimum list of names, dates, events, skills, and topics. Questions and exercises at the end of each chapter furnish specific training in skills. They include Details for Study, Discussion Questions, Suggested Activities, and Suggested Readings, both in sources and general references.

Another unique feature of the book is an extensive Glossary of words and phrases which are particularly pertinent to American history. There is also a workable bibliography for high school students. The value of the book is enhanced by the original pictures and maps scattered throughout the volume. The maps are simple and clear.

From the standpoint of both the pupil and the teacher, this textbook should prove a very refreshing change from the traditional treatment. It is an experiment which should set the pattern for future endeavors in the field of secondary textbook writing. Both the authors and publishers should be complimented on their pioneering efforts. Those of us who have labored

long with the older presentations may well covet for the younger generation a new appreciation of American history, as offered in this volume.

I. GEORGE BLAKE

Head, Department of History
Franklin College
Franklin, Indiana

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Building for Peace. The story of the First Four Years of the United Nations 1945-1949. Number 1949-1-14. Price 25 cents. Department of Public Information, Lake Success, New York.

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ARTICLES

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. January, 1949. Philadelphia 4, Pa.

This issue is devoted to a series of articles on the problem of juvenile delinquency, with special attention to the history, philosophy and operation of juvenile courts.

"A New Job for the Atom," by Gerald Wendt, *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1949.

The author believes that atomic energy could revolutionize industry and agriculture if secrecy were not necessary for military purposes.

"Australia," by Mare T. Greene, *United Nations World*, March, 1949.

An interesting and informative article on conditions in Australia.

"U. N. Does Have a Future," *New Republic*, April 4, 1949.

"The Labor Bill Rebellion," *Newsweek*, May 9, 1949.

Opposition to the Administration's labor measure.

"U. N. Accomplishments," *The American Observer*, May 23, 1949.

A worthwhile article showing the many accomplishments of the United Nations.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Community of Man. By Hugh Miller. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. ix, 169. \$3.00.

A book on philosophy that will appeal to educators.

An Introduction to Journalism Research. Edited by Ralph O. Nafziger and Marcus M. Wilkerson. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. vi, 142. \$2.50.

A valuable reference book for use in the study of the unit on occupations.

Production and Welfare of Agriculture. By Theodore W. Schultz. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. xviii, 225. \$2.50.

An excellent reference book for economics courses.

Senior Manual For Group Leadership. By O. Garfield Jones. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949. Revised Edition. Pp. xvi, 133. \$2.25.

Teachers of the social studies will welcome this text for use in their club work.

The American Ice Harvests. A Historical Study in Technology, 1800-1918. By Richard O. Cummings. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. viii, 184. \$3.00.

An interesting book which throws light on some of the customs and work of Americans of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Idea of Progress: A Collection of Readings. By Frederick J. Teggart and George H. Hildebrand. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. 457. \$6.00.

This volume includes the leading concepts of the idea of progress from the time of Hesiod to the period of Charles Darwin.

Guests of the Kremlin. By Lieutenant Colonel Robert G. Emmens. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. Pp. x, 291. \$3.00.

An exciting story from the pen of one who was unexpectedly interned in the country.

Norwegian-American Studies and Records. Volume XV. By the Norwegian-American Historical Association. J. Jorgen Thompson, Secretary. Minneapolis, Minn.: 1949. Pp. xi, 288. \$2.00.

The material in this volume covers a wide range of Norwegian and American history.

Government and Business. Revised Edition. By Ford P. Hall. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1949. Pp. xxxi, 333. \$5.00.

Considerably enlarged and thoroughly revised.

Living in Our Communities. By Edward Krug 2nd and I. James Quillen. New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1949. Pp. xviii, 598. Illustrated. \$2.50.

A new textbook that should prove very interesting to the eighth and ninth grade pupils.

Man's Great Adventure. By Edwin V. Pahlow. New York: Ginn and Company, 1949. Pp. xxxv, 815. Illustrated.

A revised edition that has been brought up-to-date.

Global Mission. By H. H. Arnold. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. Pp. xxxii, 626. Illustrated. \$3.75.

The story of "Hap" Arnold's life, how our air power was developed and some of the great decisions and operations of World War II.